WE CAN
A Model of Behavioural Change Concerning Violence Against Women
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Research by
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BANGLADESH REPORT
WE CAN, A Model of Behavioural Change Concerning Violence Against Women
An Assessment Report of We Can Campaign, Bangladesh
Study Duration: 2010-2011

Published
January 2013

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ISBN: 978-984-33-7113-3

Publisher
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Supported by
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Preface

The worldwide subordination of women is more visible in our country for various reasons. Women have to face different kinds of discrimination and violence at every level — ranging from family to society and the state. Many measures have been taken so far to establish women rights, yet women in their private lives rarely could enjoy those rights. The traditional structure of family, women’s position in the family and interrelation among the family members, the set of personal laws come as a major barrier to hinder women from achieving their rights. In South Asian countries, the concept of family is linked with value and esteem. That is why it becomes challenging for a woman to stand against discriminations and remain associated with familial identity simultaneously. By protesting against domestic violence performed by a family member, a woman puts herself in an extremely risky condition. In this circumstance, in a country like Bangladesh it is not an easy task to talk about discriminatory and violent acts within family, expose those acts in public, and to take stand against the violence and discriminations either individually or even collectively. To carry out the mission of exploring domestic violence and create a situation for women to demand remedy, We Can Campaign was initiated in Bangladesh in 2004 along with other South Asian countries with the support from Oxfam GB.

Through We Can Campaign, the initiatives taken were not meant to blame individuals as perpetrators of violence. Rather emphasis was given on identifying the violent and discriminatory behaviours within the four walls of family, exposing those to a greater audience, correcting and keeping in practice individual’s discriminatory behaviours and forming a visible, collective stand against domestic violence.

To evaluate the outcome of bringing and sustaining behavioural changes through a planned campaign, a year-long research was carried out in five South Asian countries in 2010. Both qualitative and quantitative approach was chosen to make the research scientific and to validate the findings. In Bangladesh, the research was carried out in two districts – Gaibandha and Mymensingh. To select research locations duration of operating the campaign was taken into account.

The main focus of the research was to mull over the process and outcome of campaign. The research work has incorporated the process documentation of the campaign; and considered Change Makers initiatives and their Circle of Influence; process of shift in attitudes, belief and context regarding domestic violence against women. This methodology unquestionably can be considered as an ideal component for a campaign.

Findings of this research work shows that, if violence against women can be presented as violation of human rights, people see it from a different perspective. To make that happen, the logical sequence and use of appropriate information play a crucial role. At the same time, equal rights of men and women need to be translated into a day to day practice; otherwise that would remain on papers only. We, therefore, need to practice and talk about equal rights and equal respect of men and women in our daily lives. In a patriarchal society, not only access to information but also a support group is needed to enable a person to behave gender sensitively. This support group is called Circle of Influence. Through the Circle of Influence, a person would be able to carry forward his/her positive initiatives towards bringing a collective change in society. Campaigns like We Can in such cases play significant role to formulate a greater movement on stopping violence against women.

Social researchers can use this research work and publication to analyse society. Development workers can study the methodologies of influencing grassroots people to initiate a collective movement. Donor agencies may also find this research work useful to analyse peoples’ behavioral shift in changing society. Taken as a whole, this task to evaluate an ongoing campaign would encourage all to initiate a planned campaign.

To conduct this research work, Change Makers and their friends, families and relatives from Gaibandha’s Sahapara and Kamarzani and Mymensingh’s Ward -2 and Akua Union have helped greatly. ‘Gana Unnayan Kendra’ and ‘Development Wheel’ were in charge of coordinating the work in those two districts. 20 research associates were involved in the research to make it successful. M. A. Rakib worked with due professionalism and keenness in Bangladesh. In South Asia, Anuradha Rajan was the key role player in designing and analysing the entire research work. Kalpana Kaul, M B Akhter and Jinat Ara Haque met the responsibility to edit the report. We Can Alliance Secretariat coordinated the entire research in Bangladesh with the financial assistance from Oxfam. I gratefully acknowledge all of them and also those who played effective role in different stages of the research and publication.

Our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to all Change Makers, related organizations, national and district level alliance members in Bangladesh, through whose commitment and devotion We Can Campaign has emerged as an independent platform. We are hopeful that this research work will be appreciated and become a useful platform to stop domestic violence against women and to establish human rights in Bangladesh and other countries around the world. Publishing this research work will be meaningful if the above expectations are fulfilled.

Sultana Kamal
Chairperson
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# Table of Contents

**Executive Summary** .............................................. 7

**Chapter 1: Study Overview and Conceptual Framework** ........................................... 12
  1.1 Introduction to We Can’s South Asia Strategy ........................................... 12
  1.2 We Can’s Core Ideology ........................................................................ 12
  1.3 Main Areas of Research Enquiry ................................................................ 13
  1.4 The Conceptual Framework ...................................................................... 13
     1.4.1 Deepening of Change ....................................................................... 13
     1.4.2 Collective Attitudinal Shift ............................................................... 14

**Chapter 2: The ‘We Can’ Campaign’s Model for Change** ........................................... 16
  2.1 Measuring Social Change ........................................................................ 16
  2.2 ‘We Can’: Phase I ................................................................................... 17
  2.3 ‘We Can’: Phase II ................................................................................... 17
  2.4 Phase II Outcomes and Indicators of Change ............................................ 18

**Chapter 3: Assessing ‘We Can’: Methodology and Tools** ........................................... 22
  3.1 Evaluating Campaigns: An Emerging Concept ........................................ 22
  3.2 ‘We Can’: Research Design and Methodology ........................................ 23
  3.3 Assessment Sites ..................................................................................... 25
  3.4 Sampling Process ..................................................................................... 25
  3.5 Management of Data Quality ................................................................... 25
  3.6 Limitations and Challenges ...................................................................... 26

**Chapter 4: The ‘We Can’ Assessment in Bangladesh** .............................................. 28
  4.1 Contextualising the Campaign .................................................................. 28
  4.2 Context of The Sites .................................................................................. 29
  4.3 Sample Size .............................................................................................. 30
  4.4 Sampling Procedure .................................................................................. 31
  4.5 Data Collection ......................................................................................... 31
  4.6 Data Analysis ............................................................................................ 32

**Chapter 5: Assessment Findings** ............................................................................. 34
  5.1 Section I: Profile of Change Makers ......................................................... 34
  5.2 Section II: Engagement and Re-engagement ........................................... 35
     5.2.1 Re-engagement through Phase II activities ...................................... 36
     5.2.2 Other Factors Served to Re-engage Change Makers ....................... 37
  5.3 Section III: Deepening of Change ............................................................. 38
  5.4 Section IV: Change Makers’ Understanding of VAW and Violence-free Families ......................................................... 48
     5.4.1 Change Makers’ Understanding of VAW ......................................... 48
     5.4.2 Change Makers’ Understanding of What Constitutes a Violence Free Family ......................................................... 50
     5.4.3 Change Makers’ Perceptions on Whether VAW is a Social Problem ......................................................... 51
     5.4.4 Change Makers’ Perceptions on What a Woman Can Do When She Faces Violence ......................................................... 51
     5.4.5 Change Makers’ Perspective on Violence Free Families ................. 52
     5.4.6 Change Makers’ Perspective on Acceptance of Violence ............... 53
Table of Contents

5.5 Section V: Collective Attitudinal Shift ... 55
   5.5.1 Circle of Influence and Systems Impacted ... 55
   5.5.2 Profile of Change Maker’s Circle of Influence (COI) ... 57
   5.5.3 Relevance of VAW and ‘We Can’ to the Members of COI ... 60
   5.5.4 Personal Changes Experienced by the Member of COI ... 60
   5.5.5 Insights about Understanding of Violence Among the Change Maker’s COI ... 62
   5.5.6 Attitudes of Member of COI Towards Gender Roles and VAW ... 62
   5.5.7 Attitudes of Member of COI Towards VAW and Gender Roles ... 63
   5.5.8 Collective Attitudinal Shift: Contexts of the Four Sites ... 67

Chapter 6: Reaching The Tipping Point ... 69
  6.1 Escalation in Women’s Education ... 69
  6.2 Evidence of Collective Efforts in Resisting Child Marriage ... 70
  6.3 Increased Participation of Males in Household Work ... 71
  6.4 Multi-dimensional Efforts to Stop Sexual Harassment ... 72
  6.5 Emergence of Female Leadership ... 73

Conclusion ... 75

Annex ... 79
   Significant Assessment Tools ... 79
   Tables and Figures ... 99
List of Table, Figure & Abbreviation

Tables
Table-1: Coordination matrix between study objective, questions and methods  
Table-2: Criteria for identifying the categories of deepening of changes  
Table-3: Change Makers’ understanding of VAW  
Table-4: Change Makers’ understanding about violence-free family  
Table-5: Change Makers’ views on whether VAW is a community-level problem  
Table-6: Change Makers’ perception on what should woman do when she faces violence  
Table-7: Change Makers’ perspective on Violence Free Families  
Table-8: Change Makers’ perspective on acceptance of violence  
Table-9: Change Makers’ perspective on acceptance of women speaking out against DV and seeking community support  
Table-10: Change Makers’ perspective on Women’s rights  
Table-11: Change Makers’ perspective on Sharing of work  
Table-12: Site-wise number of COI per Change Maker  
Table-13: COI perspective on acceptance of violence  
Table-14: COI perspective on acceptance of women speaking out against DV and seeking community support  
Table-15: COI perspective on Women’s rights  
Table-16: COI perspective on sharing of work  
Table-17: Comparison of attitudes of Change Makers and their COI on VAW and gender roles

Figures
Figure 1: Assessment Highlights  
Figure 2: Process of Change  
Figure 3: Key Tipping point principles  
Figure 4: Stages of change theory as adapted by raising voices  
Figure 5: Sample size by study sites  
Figure 6: Factors served to re-engage Change Makers  
Figure 7: Re-engagement of Change Makers through phase II activities  
Figure 8: Other factors served to re-engage Change Makers  
Figure 9: Distribution of Change Makers in different categories of deepening of change  
Figure 10: Area wise distribution of Change Makers in different categories of deepening of change  
Figure 11: Identified Circle of Influence of Change Makers  
Figure 12: Distribution of COI by System  
Figure 13: Site wise details of COI  
Figure 14: Change Makers reporting change and impact on systems in their environment  
Figure 15: Social Influence Mapping of a Change Maker  
Figure 16: Reaching the Tipping Point

List of Abbreviation
BCC Behavior Change Communication  
CM Change Maker  
COI Circle of Influence  
DA District Administration  
DV Domestic Violence  
FGD Focus Group Discussion  
GBV Gender based Violence  
HH House Hold Work  
HR Human Rights  
IEC Information Education & Communication  
IGA Income Generating Activities  
SM Social Mobilization  
ToR Terms of Reference  
TV Television  
UP Union Parishad
Executive Summary

INTRODUCTION
This report is an assessment of ‘We Can’, a campaign targeted at reducing social acceptance of violence against women (VAW). This six-year Campaign—initiated in Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh, and Nepal in end-2004, and in Pakistan and Afghanistan in early 2005—aims to reach out to 50 million individuals across the six countries via a 5 million-strong band of Change Makers who have pledged to carry forward the Campaign’s message by initiating non-acceptance of VAW in their own lives as well as in that of those around them.

The Campaign, which draws on a strong communication strategy—comprising public events, workshops, print and video materials, outreach to educational institutions, and one-on-one interfaces to engage communities on the issue of VAW—has been implemented in two stages.

Phase I of the Campaign focussed on signing up Change Makers who internalised Campaign messaging to carry forward We Can’s mandate. In Phase II, the Campaign concentrated on intensifying change by re-engaging old Change Makers and deepening transformation among them. (Simultaneously, some new Change Makers were also recruited and in a way, both Phases ran side by side.) This phase also marked a seminal programmatic shift in moving beyond the individual to effecting change in the wider community.

OBJECTIVES OF THE ASSESSMENT
In 2009, Oxfam GB commenced a five-country (excluding Afghanistan)¹ assessment of the ‘We Can’ Campaign. The objective was to understand whether—and how—deepening of change was taking place through the Campaign’s various strategies to re-engage Change Makers. Additionally, the study² explored collective attitudinal changes, i.e., whether the change process has moved beyond the individual, and into the Change Makers’ Circle of Influence (COI).

METHODOLOGY
The conceptual framework for mapping the Campaign’s deepening of change evolved partly through an inductive process of analysing stories of change as well as tabling the envisaged key outcomes. The collective attitudinal shift component was analysed using the whole systems framework principle³ and Malcolm Gladwell’s tipping point theory⁴.

The sample size was finalised after taking into consideration the advice of a statistical expert. The other determinant was the resources available to undertake the study. The assessment aimed at

¹ The Campaign in Afghanistan was not covered as, due to security issues, ‘We Can’ could operationalise the Campaign only in fits and starts. Thus, an assessment at this stage would have been premature.
² As above.
³ The words, ‘assessment’ and ‘study’, have been used interchangeably in the report.
⁴ Whole systems thinking is a method of analysis that looks at the interrelationships of the constituent parts of a system rather than narrowly focusing on the parts themselves (http://pathtree.com/whole-systems-living).
covering a maximum sample size of 400 respondents per country, to allow for a 5% margin of error at
95% confidence level.

The assessment combined qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry. Change Makers were
invited to share their stories of change using the life history technique. Those in their Circle of
Influence were covered through a semi-structured interview schedule. Both Change Makers and
their COI were asked to respond to the same set of questions on their attitudes to gender roles and
VAW.

Formats for entering and analysing narratives of Change Makers as well as people in their Circle of
Influence were developed for the assessment using Microsoft Excel. The detailed analysis
framework was specifically applied to unravelling degrees of deepening of change among
respondents, as well as modifications in Change Makers’ environments. SPSS software was used for
coding and analysis of respondent attitudes to gender roles and VAW issues.

Data quality was rigorously managed through extensive capacity building of field investigators. The
emphasis was on daily reviews and cleaning of interview data, maintenance of verbatim recordings,
and the management of log sheets on a daily basis.

KEY FINDINGS

Deepening of change implies a movement forward from an already changed state, which is
challenging from an evaluation point of view. Moreover, it is not a homogeneous and/or an objective
concept. It implies a journey, a gradation, and is determined by a combination of factors—personal
motivation, one’s level of discomfort with the issue of VAW, and mostly by the social and familial
context of the Change Maker.

Thus, fully comprehending and measuring this concept necessitates an understanding of Change
Makers’ journey of change as a part of their life journey and context that cannot be studied only from
the vantage points of “before” and “after”.

Significantly, it was noted that gendered constraints make a woman’s journey of change more
challenging than that of their male counterparts. This has meant that in grouping Change Makers,
appreciating the context of the change is critical. Even in cases where the story of change might not
illustrate much intensity as that of others in the same category, we have taken into account, that
women’s circumstances pose considerable—and unrelenting—constraints in the making and
maintaining of that change. Thus, applying blanket indicators in this appraisal would provide only a
partial view of the truth.

In Bangladesh, the study yielded essentially three groupings of Change Makers, based on their levels
of deepening of change, ranging from those who experienced: a) significant deepening of change; b)
some deepening of change; and c) heightened awareness and some action. The key difference
between each lies in the extent of behavioural change and actions taken, which is in keeping with the
Phase II emphasis that goes beyond the first step of developing awareness to the subsequent step of
Change Makers acting on VAW issues.

Further, the exhaustive case studies of participants point to a distinct variation among Change
Makers from each grouping in terms of motivation levels and the ability to reach out to others:

a) Those who experienced maximum change offered clear articulations and descriptions of
‘change’ that range from strongly worded statements around the unacceptability of violence
to applying the lens of discrimination to child labour, caste based inequality and subtle forms of violence.

b) Change Makers who showed some deepening of change are very similar to the previous group in terms of understanding VAW messaging and were unequivocal about their rejection of discriminatory practices aimed at girls. They endorsed equality and have shared the message of the campaign with others. However, this subset has largely restricted behavioural changes to their own lives and relationships, though some are beginning to take fledgling steps in intervening in situations involving violence against others.

c) Respondents who have stayed at the level of feeling and thinking about the issue fall into the third grouping. In a sense, this group may be seen as one that is “preparing to act”. Some reported feeling more strongly about the issue and thinking more deeply about it with the passage of time. Others have continued to remain at the same level of understanding that they developed at the time they signed up as Change Makers.

d) Lastly, Change Makers who signed up without any real understanding of the issue, and who felt that the campaign has not impacted them in any way. Such respondents noted that they have not experienced any change as a result of associating with ‘We Can’.

Among the people interviewed in the Change Maker’s Circle of Influence (COI), the majority have reported personal change as a direct result of their interactions with the Change Maker and/or the Campaign. While change in the COI has not been uniform or all encompassing, the fact that such a high percentage reports some kind of change is noteworthy.

Of particular significance is that there is a distinct relationship between the deepening of change among Change Makers and behavioural changes (or at least a shift in thinking) in their COI. In all probability, this linkage is cyclical, where changes in the Change Maker sustain changes in the COI and vice versa, which further works as a reinforcing loop. An understanding of VAW issues is much clearer among Change Makers, even though people in the COI exhibit a very similar pattern in attitudinal shift. Also, the latter are not as forward looking on matters related to women speaking out, for instance, or on women’s rights.

To sum up: The core argument of the study contains two components. One is that deepening of change has been experienced by Change Makers at different levels. The second one is that at the community level, the scale has started to shift in favour of reducing tolerance to VAW. The study has also shown that along with individual Change Makers, collective shifts in attitudes and behaviours are also taking place in their Circle of Influence. Thus, broader collective attitudinal change is possible and has happened through increased engagement and re-engagement with the issue. This has largely taken the shape of actions to end violence against women. When individual actions of change are initiated, it leads to a larger tipping point, where violence against women becomes unacceptable.
Assessment highlights with results

Total number of Change makers covered by the assessment - 115

In the assessment all the Change makers show personal change.
Change makers who show deepening of change = 109 (94.07%)

In Bangladesh 9 out of 10 Change makers have shown deepened change due to engage and re-engagement process of ‘We Can’. Of these 6 shows significant deepening of change and 3 displays some degree of deepening of change.

Change Makers who report impacting systems around them = 111 (96.5%).

Key result
On an average each Change Maker has impacted 5 people in his/her environment.

Sample of COI covered in assessment: 307
(259 through structured interviews, 48 through FGD’s)

- The movement of Campaign messages from Change Makers to their Circle of Influence is occurring on a significant scale.
- Impact on the Change Maker’s families has been reported in maximum numbers- 87.82%, in other system neighbor 68.6%, relatives 53.04%, Friends 34.7%, Others 10.43%.
- Attitudes of people in the Change Maker’s COI are positive on the issue of discrimination against women and girls, women’s rights, extending community support to women facing violence, and the unacceptability of violence.

- All the members in the COI report having heard about VAW.
- As source Change Maker, quoted 94.2%, followed by the television (11.6%), community activities (11.6%) and Neighbour (11.2%)
- Heard ‘We Can’ campaign- 88.0%, Change maker- 84.6% COI found the issue of VAW relevant in their context.

Figure - 1: Assessment highlights
Chapter 1

Study Overview and Conceptual Framework

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO WE CAN’S SOUTH ASIA STRATEGY

The ‘We Can’ Campaign is currently running in six countries in South Asia—Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. It aims to reach out to 50 million individuals, symbolic of the 50 million women who are missing in South Asia because of gender discriminatory practices.6

‘We Can’ is strategized as a trigger-for-action initiative that uses the campaign mode to achieve its objectives. It veers away from the traditional programme approach, and works with a specific target population or group through repeated, frequent interventions that foster rethinking on VAW-related issues.

Rooted in the belief that personal change has the potential to become a powerful vehicle for large-scale social transformation, the Campaign’s chief focus is on propagating non-acceptance of gender-based violence in all its manifestations. It aims at engaging public opinion on the issue of aggression against women by building mass awareness that emphasizes that even the smallest of actions can make a big contribution to addressing VAW. It encourages individuals to reflect on their attitudes and to take that first step—big or small—that challenges gender discriminatory practices, thus opening up avenues for dialogue and further change.

Integral to the ‘We Can’ strategy are Change Makers who sign up for the Campaign with an oath to make small changes in themselves, and to also sensitise others on the many forms of inequality that gender-based relationships take on. Backed by strong communication materials that empower them to reach out to others, this army of volunteers is the backbone of the campaign.

1.2 WE CAN’S CORE IDEOLOGY

‘We Can’ was launched in December 2004. In the first three years, its focus was on establishing a cadre of Change Makers, thereby building a relevant body of people who have pledged their time and energy to the issue of gender-based violence.

From 2007, the Campaign made a conscious decision on fine-tuning We Can’s strategy to enhance efficacy in not just gathering momentum in achieving its target numbers, but in deepening the change that it sought to bring about. By shifting its focus and energy in re-engaging and revitalizing this groundswell of Change Makers, ‘We Can’ hoped to become a truly formidable vehicle of long-lasting, profound change. Towards this end, Change Makers were spurred on to action change. Key messaging during this phase focused on non acceptance of violence, celebrating the actions of Change Makers and while doing so, offering alternatives to Change Makers on how to grow the change in themselves and in those around them.

In 2009, Oxfam GB (Great Britain) initiated an assessment of the Campaign in five of its target countries—Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and India. The purpose of the study was to

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understand the nature and content of deepening of change through the Campaign’s diverse efforts in re-engaging Change Makers. In keeping with its realigned strategy, it also sought to explore whether the change process moved beyond Change Makers into their Circle of Influence. With these objectives in mind, a regional assessment with a common design and framework was initiated in the five countries.

This report is the assessment of the ‘We Can’ campaign in Bangladesh, with especial emphasis on Phase II.

1.3 MAIN AREAS OF RESEARCH ENQUIRY
The assessment methodology included surveys/questionnaires, interviews, controlled observations, fieldwork, and meetings, and was set up to generate information on the following key areas of investigation:

- Are existing Change Makers experiencing a deepening of change as a result of the re-engagement process in Phase II?
- If yes, what is the nature of this change/how is this change occurring?
- Is the change spreading from the Change Makers outwards to their Circle of Influence?
- If yes, what are the various types of changes occurring within these Circle of Influence?
- Has the campaign managed to influence perceptions and beliefs on violence against women within the Change Maker’s broader Circle of Influence?

1.4 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
A conceptual framework is described as a set of broad ideas and principles taken from relevant fields of enquiry and used to structure a subsequent presentation (Reichel & Ramey, 1987). When clearly articulated, a conceptual framework—which is essentially a research tool—provides the theoretical moorings for investigative study, assisting a researcher to make meaning of subsequent findings. Such a framework should be intended as a starting point for reflection about the research and its context.7

The two main issues under study here are: (a) the deepening of change among existing Change Makers; and (b) the collective attitudinal shift among the Change Makers’ Circle of Influence.

1.4.1 Deepening of change
Deepening of change implies a growth/journey in the transformation being experienced by the Change Maker. It entails the following:

- A progressive movement from one point to another in the change process continuum.
- A sequence of actions/thinking during the change process.
- A movement from awareness to ‘awareness +’. As the focus of ‘We Can’ was on awareness generation during Phase I of the Campaign, this essentially implies a shift from the point where a Change Maker was at the time of signing on to the Campaign, to where s/he is now.

The assessment began with a very loose definition (as articulated above) of the meaning of “deepening of change”, which necessitated further fleshing out after hearing the narratives of

Change Makers. The reason for this was the campaign’s non-prescriptive approach to personal change; it does not aim to privilege certain kinds of changes over others but celebrates every behavioural change as a step towards reduced social acceptance to VAW.

Thus, the exact components of deepening of change were defined by the Change Makers’ stories themselves. Such an approach is defined as “inductive”, the primary purpose of this approach being to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by rigid, structured methodologies.

The framework that emerged based on the analytical categories emerging from the data is represented below.

### Process of Change

**Point A (No awareness)**

**Point B (Awareness)**

Understanding what is VAW; different forms of violence including inequality and discrimination; relating the issue to instances from one’s own life; small actions can make a big change, ending VAW is necessary.

**This is what the assessment is measuring**

**Point C (Awareness +)**

Deeper understanding about VAW; identifying violence in newer contexts; situations; feeling more strongly on the issue; reaching out and engaging others; personal changes; taking actions vis a vis situations in others’ lives.

**Figure - 2: Process of Change**

1.4.2 Collective attitudinal shift

The notion of collective attitudinal shift draws its conceptual framework from Malcolm Gladwell’s theory of the tipping point, and whole systems thinking. The latter is an analytical method that, instead of studying the parts of a system in isolation, looks at interrelationships of the constituent components. This framework proposes that social change is the combined product of individual change and its impact on others within the same system by virtue of the relationship each of them share with each other. It examines change from the lens of interconnectedness.

The key concepts of whole systems thinking that have informed the assessment are: a) A system is a group of units related by a common purpose/interest; b) The character of a system is defined by the interrelationships between the units of a system; c) Because of interdependence between different units, a change in any one unit impacts the other units in the system; and d) Change in any one system can potentially impact another system with which it shares a relationship.

Drawing from the above, one of the aspects of collective attitudinal shift that the assessment has tried to explore is the exponential impact of individual change as it affects a system, when the “whole is more than the sum of its parts”. In other words, the impact of individuals changing within a system is more than the sum of change in each of them separately.
An interesting application of whole systems thinking is visible in Malcolm Gladwell’s “Tipping Point” theory that highlights the point where the recessive becomes dominant. In the context of “We Can”, the tipping point would be when widespread acceptance of domestic violence is replaced by its non-tolerance.

Gladwell lists three tipping point principles:

1. The Law of the Few (or individual ‘carriers’ of the message): There are essentially three kinds of ‘carriers’—Connectors, who have a huge network of people; Mavens, who are subject matter experts and gather a large amount of information on any issue; and Salespersons, who are good at convincing and motivating people.

2. The Stickiness Factor: What makes a message stick is repetitiveness of the communication, leading to effective retention.

3. The Power of Context: Over and above and individual’s personal traits, his/her behaviour is greatly affected by the context in which s/he lives, works and interacts. When the context is altered, individual behaviour also begins to change.

The spread of an idea is a result of the right combination of these three elements. In the assessment, both deepening of change and collective attitudinal shift can be seen as contributing to the creation of a tipping point where VAW becomes unacceptable.

**Key Tipping Point Principles**

- **Deepening of change**
  - New ways of thinking, and behaviours that do not support VAW
- **Collective attitudinal shift**
  - smaller tipping points
  - Pushing towards a larger tipping point where VAW becomes unacceptable

*Figure - 3: Key Tipping Point Principles*

The Power of Context (described above), one of the three key tipping point principles, is also an important element in whole systems thinking, which tries to explore context by looking at how changes among individuals in a given system impact the behaviour of the system as whole and how they influence each other. That is: a study of the relationship between different components within the system, how much they influence each other, and how they act together in changing/influencing other systems.
Chapter 2

THE ‘WE CAN’ CAMPAIGN’S MODEL FOR CHANGE

2.1 MEASURING SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change typically takes place within an existing social and political environment, and people’s life experiences add another dimension to the context in which such change occurs. It is thus important to recognize that since the early 1970s, many South Asian countries have witnessed significant social change that has been springboarded by people’s movements. In all the five South Asian countries being covered in the assessment, such mass mobilization efforts have played a significant role in activating citizenry and shaping public policy and opinion on all issues affecting women. Whereas the issue of VAW itself has been within the arena of policy change and public debate, the ‘We Can’ campaign-mode strategy and approach is distinctly novel. Its inclusiveness lies in that the Campaign has been layered even into existing projects and programs that do not necessarily focus solely on violence against women. Against such a background, a campaign-based intervention such as ‘We Can’ can indeed be viewed as a contributor or a trigger for change.

The ‘We Can’ Campaign was modelled along the lines of the adapted version of the Stages of Change Theory, used successfully by Raising Voices, a Uganda-based non-profit that works extensively on violence against women and children.

The theory postulates that change takes place in four stages, beginning with the individual, and moving on to wider changes in the community:

- The first, awareness-raising stage promotes reflection on violence against women through engagement and inspiring the community.
- The second stage is focused on building networks by preparing community members (who vow to take action against violence against woman) to take a public stand against Gender based violence.
- In the third stage, the accent is on the integration of action whereby groups work together to address VAW.
- The fourth stage is the strengthening of community and organizational capacities to prevent violence against women through appropriate strategies and actions.

Thus, the model of change adopted by ‘We Can’ talks of movement in terms of stages. Starting off from being unaware of the problem, the individual moves to a stage of awareness and begins thinking about the problem, finds a network of like-minded people, prepares to take action, and implements the action. If the individual continues taking actions, s/he falls into a state of sustained change or “maintenance”.

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2.2 ‘WE CAN’: PHASE I

The first phase of the campaign aimed at building people’s engagement with the issue of violence against women by making it relevant to individuals. The Campaign guided them to identify and reflect on the various forms of gender inequality and discrimination that one faces in routine, daily life and offered a route to address this through personal change. Violence against women was explained in the context of both visible and hidden forms of discrimination that deprive women of equal rights and opportunities. The Campaign slogan—“equal relationships are violence-free”—underlined this, and stressed that the smallest of actions has the potential to lead to big change.

During Phase I (2004-2007), the Campaign’s carefully researched communication materials were disseminated at public events held by Campaign alliance members, to engage people on the issue of VAW.

2.3 ‘WE CAN’: PHASE II

The Campaign entered its second Phase in 2007, where the focus was shifted to intensifying change through a concerted strategy of re-engaging old Change Makers (those mobilized in Phase I) and increasing the spread and concentration of the change triggered in the first phase. The plan was to promote attitudinal change exponentially through existing Change Makers, so that the change
process not only deepened, but also fanned outwards to a broader set of people within the Change Makers’ Circle of Influence. In doing so, the process of change would begin to build an enabling environment where violence against women would be addressed in different ways.

At the end of Phase I, there was growing anecdotal evidence of Change Makers coming together to take action or to build community awareness. This collective action was encouraged in Phase II as a way of sustaining communities of interest and shared values among Change Makers.

The key elements of Phase II include the following:

1. Re-engaging of old Change Makers through direct contact programmes as well as mass outreach approaches in ways that establishes their identity as Change Makers as well as makes them feel valued for their commitment to personal change.
2. Cessation of direct mobilization of Change Makers by alliance members and enlisting of new Change Makers via old Change Makers. The role of the alliance is to encourage old Change Makers to maintain a rigorous, up-to-date database of newly enlisted Change Makers, and to ensure a regular and timely supply of communication materials to old Change Makers, orienting them to any new messages being rolled out. Alliances are also charged with pushing institutional change.
3. Nurturing networks of Change Makers to sustain change and strengthen an enabling environment.
4. To step up change among existing Change Makers by motivating them to identify fresh situations for applying the gender discrimination lens, and to consider new actions in which they can improve women’s status.
5. To seed a collective attitudinal shift in communities. In Phase I, the Change Maker was the pivot of change and was expected to reach out to 10 others regarding VAW concerns. Phase II, on the other hand, seeks to cause sustained attitudinal shifts in Change Makers who, in turn, reinforce an attitudinal shift among a broader set of people in the Change Maker’s sphere of influence.
6. Promoting Institutional change, with a specific focus on schools and institutions of local governance. Change Makers within these institutions to be motivated to mobilize relevant decision makers and influential individuals, so that small changes that support the equal status of girls and women can be introduced in these institutions. This outreach is aimed at the district level, in particular.

2.4 PHASE II OUTCOMES AND INDICATORS OF CHANGE

The expected outcomes central to Phase II of the Campaign are:

- Deepening of change among existing Change Makers.
- Building of networks that sustain change.
- Fostering collective attitudinal shift that translates into the creation of an enabling environment that visibilises VAW issues.

For the purpose of this study, the above were broken down further into visible outcomes and indicators as presented on next page.

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*Like minded people who believe that DV is a violation of human rights form the We Can Alliance.*
## Outcomes and indicators for Phase II of ‘We Can’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visible Outcomes</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
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</table>
| Rejection/reduced tolerance/nonacceptance / of any form of violence against women in the community, by community members and Change Makers. | 1. Change Makers and community members:  
   • Identify at least one alternative route to resolve conflicts in gender related relationships.  
   • Report actions to prevent violence in communities.  
2. Community members (Change Makers and people in their spheres of influence) hold the view that violence against women is unacceptable. |
| Greater acceptance of women who raise their voice against domestic violence.      | 1. Change Makers display positive attitudes towards women who speak out about domestic violence.  
2. Community members (people in the Change Makers’ sphere of influence) display positive attitudes towards women who report domestic violence.  
3. Change Makers report specific incidents where they have facilitated citizens to speak out against domestic violence in the community. |
| Increased awareness among Change Makers about the benefits of violence-free relationships for men, women and families. | 1. Change Makers and community members are able to successfully describe the benefits of violence-free families to men, women and families.  
2. Change Makers and community members believe that violencefree homes are possible and that equality in intimate relationships is worth achieving. |
| Increased evidence of Change Makers and other community members taking on responsibility to build and strengthen violencefree relationships. | 1. Change Makers believe that they have a critical role to play in ending VAW.  
2. Community groups recognise they have a responsibility to work towards ending VAW.  
3. Institutions adopt positive steps to support violence- free relationships and/or address violence against women questions. |
| Female Change Makers and the women in their spheres of influence feel confident to address and deal with domestic violence in their own lives, and in the lives of others. | 1. Female Change Makers and women reached out to by Change Makers believe that women are not at fault in VAW situations.  
2. Women enlisted by female Change Makers report taking actions to address violence in their own relationships.  
3. The above-mentioned women report supporting other women facing violence. |

It is against this background that the assessment process was initiated in 2009.
Chapter 3

ASSESSING ‘WE CAN’: METHODOLOGY AND TOOLS

3.1 EVALUATING CAMPAIGNS: AN EMERGING CONCEPT

Evaluation of campaigns is a relatively new area, with limited examples and practical guidelines. According to available literature, there are two types of public communication campaigns—individual behaviour change campaigns, and public will/political change campaigns. According to Ethel Klein, a longtime campaign strategist and pollster, public will campaigns are sometimes borne out of individual behaviour change campaigns. While the expected outcomes of the two campaigns are different, public will change campaigns are increasingly gaining ascendancy.

The aim of campaign evaluation is to explore whether people have changed their attitude and behaviour after acquiring information on specific issues through it. The most commonly adopted theories include the Theory of Reasoned Action, Social Cognitive Theory, the Health Belief Model, and Stages of Change Model.

Assessing campaign outcomes is a multi-layered task due to its subtle nature and the various environmental factors that inevitably come into play, making linear co-relations virtually impossible. This is why campaigns pay attention to context, linking their traditional media and behaviour change strategies with on-the-ground community action to make the social and policy environment more supportive of the desired campaign results.  

We are still at the early stages of how to evaluate campaigns. For assessing change, both numerical and verbal data are equally important. However, because quantitative evaluation methods are more defined and precise, campaign evaluations tend to neglect qualitative and participatory methods.

Campaign evaluations are designed keeping in mind the current stage at which the program is. While front-end evaluation is designed at the starting period of the campaign, back-end evaluations chart the progression of the campaign, identifying and analysing the changes that occurred at individual, community, and societal levels. This includes an evaluation of the process, outcomes, and impact, the last of which is referred to as the ‘gold standard’, and which uses a rigorous research design to ensure the certainty of its measurement.

Any good evaluation is based in methodological rigour. Ideally, the assessment/research design should be incorporated in the campaign or program right from the very beginning. However, the reality is that assessment planning is typically done when the program or campaign is at an advanced stage. Moreover, the basic principles of impact evaluation (for e.g., comparable pre-test/post-test studies, control group inclusion, instruments development and testing, random sample selection, and control for researcher bias) often suffer due to time, resource and data constraints. As a response to these limitations, the Shoestring Evaluation approach presents a methodological tool

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that has the ability to circumnavigate evaluation limitations by lending practical support to produce useful evaluation findings while working under real world constraints. It lists six steps for a robust evaluation design:11

- Planning and scope of the evaluation: Identify client needs, the change model that informs the intervention, and be cognizant of the data and resource constraints within which the evaluation must work.
- Addressing budgetary constraints: Review alternative evaluation designs and adopt/adapt the best available model in a given context. To work around budgetary restrictions, how to reduce the sample size without compromising on the quality of statistical rigor.
- Addressing time constraints: Conduct preliminary studies that complement the work being undertaken by resource intensive consultants. This phase could also include optical scanning of documents to reduce data input time.
- Addressing data constraints: Identify secondary data sources that can provide baseline information or are able to use recall to build a baseline. However, since this could be biased and is highly subjective, triangulate this information with at least two independent sources.
- Addressing threats to the soundness/adequacy of the evaluation design and conclusions: Check the evaluation design against the various parameters of validity, such as being able to establish a causal relationship, the appropriateness of the statistical analysis used, and clarity around theoretical constructs that have informed the intervention.
- Addressing identified weaknesses to strengthen evaluation design and analysis: Take the most feasible measures to address threats to validity. If it is not possible to address weaknesses, the limitations of the evaluation design should be clearly spelt out, as also what informed the adoption of a particular evaluation design over the other. This step also entails articulating the assumptions and premises on which the evaluation was developed.

3.2 ‘WE CAN’: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The study sought enquiry on three key questions:

1. In what ways has the Campaign contributed to the deepening of change among old Change Makers?
2. What is the collective shift in attitudes and beliefs within the Change Maker’s Circle of Influence?
3. How are community attitudes to violence against women being influenced by the Campaign?

To best explore the above questions, it was decided that the research design would combine both qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry. The specific methods and tools employed during the course of our investigation incorporated the following:

- A quasi life history approach underlined the study, in order to understand the subtleties in the deepening of change process. We explored several key chapters of the Change Maker’s life to understand individual journeys of change and where—and in what context—the Campaign had entered her/his life.

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• A social influence map was developed in order to deduce who constituted the Change Maker’s Circle of Influence and how the latter was changing.

• A structured interview guide was drawn up to assess the Change Maker’s attitudes to VAW and gender roles.

• Change Makers were invited for a day-long workshop and the mixed methods (open ended unstructured interview, semi-structured interview, and social influence mapping) were applied to elicit responses.

• Individuals in the Change Maker’s Circle of Influence participated in a semi-structured interview that comprised several open-ended questions to assess personal change. The interview guide also contained a section on attitudes to gender roles and VAW (identical to the one that was administered to Change Makers).

The key principles that informed the methodology were aimed at:

• Creating a space for reflection and analysis of personal experiences of Change Makers. It was hoped that this exercise would become mutually beneficial, as it would surface for Change Makers the value of their journey and also generate key insights for the Campaign.

• Eliciting the participation of the Change Maker in analysing personal experiences.

• Exploring certain sensitive aspects of the Change Maker’s life, specifically through the in-depth interview format. It is to be noted here that informed consent and confidentiality was accorded utmost importance, and the report has deliberately shied away from featuring the real names of Change Makers quoted in this document.

### Coordination matrix between study objective, questions and methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study questions</th>
<th>Information set</th>
<th>Data gathering methods</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Have Change Makers experienced re-engagement with campaign activities or the issues of VAW in general?</td>
<td>Change Makers’ narratives and ratings along with reasoning of closed questions</td>
<td>Process documentation, and semi-structured questions in social influence mapping tool</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study questions</th>
<th>Information set</th>
<th>Data gathering methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 2) a. Do existing Change Makers experience a deepening of change as a result of re-engagement with the campaign?  
   b. What is the nature of this change/how is this change occurring? | Change Makers’ narratives and ratings on closed questions along with narratives | Semi-structured questions Social influence mapping exercise, and Attitude schedule |

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study questions</th>
<th>Information set</th>
<th>Data gathering methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 3) a. Does collective shift in attitudes and beliefs within the Change Makers’ Circle of Influence occur?  
   b. What is the process and nature of this collective attitudinal shift? | Narratives from both Change Makers and people from the Circle of Influence.  
   Ratings on closed questions provided by people in communities from the Change Makers’ Circle of Influence (different systems) | For Change Makers: Attitude schedule  
   For COI: Semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions |

*Table 1: Coordination matrix between study objective, questions and methods*
3.3 ASSESSMENT SITES

Criteria for selection of appropriate district:

- Geographical variation of the site.
- The operational period of the Campaign. To ensure that no bias came up during the course of the assessment process, a mix of both ‘old’ and ‘new’ phase II districts was drawn up.
- Inclusion a mix of urban, rural, and semi urban/rural areas.

Criteria for selection of appropriate unions:

(a) Their degree of engagement with Change Makers.
(b) Evidence of sustained engagement of Change Makers with the issue and the campaign through actions/initiatives, both at the personal and community levels.
(c) Involvement of survivors of violence within the campaign.
(d) Evidence of community involvement in addressing VAW.
(e) Number of Change Makers of the Union/Ward.

3.4 SAMPLING PROCESS

The sampling design was developed keeping in mind the ramped-up objectives of Phase II of the Campaign, viz: re-engagement of Change Makers and outreach to their Circle of Influence.

To arrive at the list of respondents, the research team connected with We Can’s local implementing partners/organisations who prepared an initial listing of re-engaged Change Makers in the geographical areas under study. A random sample of Change Makers was selected from this master list. Efforts were made to ensure that the sample adequately reflected the correct proportion of male and female Change Makers.

The next step was to identify people in the Change Maker’s Circle of Influence. The specially developed social mapping tool aided Change Makers in arriving at a list. The information was inputted into a matrix, and a stratified random sampling method was adopted to ensure that all systems or groups (such as family, neighbours, friends, etc.) covered by the Change Makers were reflected in the sample.

3.5 MANAGEMENT OF DATA QUALITY

Data quality controls and management are key to a thorough assessment that is truly reflective of the reality. Our study placed special emphasis on adequate quality check processes, which included the following:

- **Selection of research staff:** In all cases, the research teams were recruited on each site only after consultations with the local partners. It was agreed upon that as far as possible, articulate Change Makers with good documentation skills would be recruited to work as field researchers. Not only would the familiarity of the Change Maker with the local context and language aid the process of data collection, it would also facilitate rapport building, essential for drawing out responses.

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12 In Bangladesh, the regional administrative structure is as thus: Its 7 Divisions have 64 Districts, each of which has Upazillas, and Unions.
13 The words ‘partner’ and ‘alliance organisation’ have been interchangeably in the report.
• **Training and capacity building of data collection teams:** The data collection requirements and time duration of the study determined the number of field researchers on each site. To help hone the research skills of the shortlisted data collectors (with special emphasis on the ethics surrounding VAW research), the study team members held a five-day residential training workshop that included mock interviews and field tests. The best recruits were then chosen, ensuring a good mix of females and males to enable comfort levels among respondents who might feel uncomfortable with a researcher of the opposite sex. The first round of data collection commenced in each site immediately post training. For the second phase of data gathering that required reaching out to Change Makers’ Circle of Influence, a one-day reorientation training was organized for the team.

• **Daily reviews:** Daily data collection reviews and the recounting of experiences were made mandatory. Any problems encountered during data collection were used as examples to improve the process for the following day.

• **Monitoring:** Interview schedules were checked on a daily basis to weed out data entry mistakes. The importance of recording the interviews verbatim was constantly emphasized and all interviews were diligently inspected. Interview transcripts were finalised on the day of the interview itself, before the next interview. Since a quasi life history approach was used with Change Makers, each interview was covered by a pair of field researchers, one of whom was the interviewer, and the other, the recorder. At the end of the day, the research teams would sit together to review the day’s work and complete their schedules. This was never compromised on throughout the research period.

Over and above these measures, the research leads and supervisors were present at the site throughout the duration of both phases of data collection to ensure onsite support and to monitor data quality.

### 3.6 LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

Thus far, 3.7 million Change Makers have joined the Campaign in the five South Asian countries under review, covering hundreds of districts in six countries. It is a methodological and resource challenge to attempt to draw generalizations about the effect of a campaign such as ‘We Can’, with its huge numbers, and widespread and diverse populations.

What the assessment has sought to understand is people’s different journeys of change and the role played by the Campaign in facilitating this. From assessing how many Change Makers are in the deepening of change category to whether they have pushed change beyond themselves to their Circle of Influence, the study attempted to unearth social transformation as a consequence of ‘We Can’.

In order to meet these objectives it was important to use a methodology that would allow the researchers to engage with Change Makers in an in-depth manner and, at the same time, provide data on an acceptable scale about their Circle of Influence. To this end, the study employed a mixed method approach (i.e., incorporating tools for conducting an open-ended unstructured interview, a semi-structured interview, and using social influence mapping) to include qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry. However, to minimize bias, significant care was taken to ensure that the sample of Change Makers has been randomly drawn from the pool of re-engaged Change Makers and their communities.
In recent times, evaluation researchers have begun questioning the validity of establishing linear relationships of cause and effect within social change processes. The increasing access to information and technology means that social interventions can seldom hope to start on a ‘blank slate’; rather, they take place in an existing social and political context. Similarly, people’s life experiences are yet another context in which social change interventions are received.

Against this backdrop it is important to recognize that in some countries of South Asia where ‘We Can’ operates, there has been significant mobilization by the women’s movement to shape public opinion and policy making on issues affecting women, including Gender based violence. The Campaign is being implemented in a context where the strategy and approach of ‘We Can’ is novel, but the issue of VAW itself has been within the arena of policy change and public debate for several years. Against such a backdrop, a Campaign such as ‘We Can’ should be viewed as a contributor, a trigger for change.

It also needs to be emphasized that the assessment process was not built into the Campaign from the beginning and was planned later. Therefore, a comparable baseline was not possible.

Arriving at a sampling of Change Makers from the database posed the biggest challenge to the research team. This proved to be an uphill task for many reasons. To begin with, there were no clear lists or databases of re-engaged Change Makers, and hence a lot of planning and groundwork went into developing a database. Some alliance partners felt intimidated by the process of random selection of Change Makers and a great deal of effort and time had to be expended in allaying their doubts and fears. At another level, alliance partners had to work very hard to identify and locate re-engaged Change Makers, as most re-engagement activities were public events without an inbuilt tracking system of participants. Yet another challenge was to convince and bring Change Makers to the workshop. It was difficult to induce people to spend an entire day being interviewed.

Again, in the second phase of data collection, identification of people from the Change Maker’s Circle of Influence and ensuring their availability for the interview was not easy.

Nonetheless, the time given by the Change Makers and people in their Circle of Influence, as well as their cooperation during the study, warrant maximum appreciation.

We would also like to note here the hardships borne by the research team during both phases of data collection. In spite of long—and sometimes, odd—working hours, difficult interviewees, poor accommodation, extreme weather conditions, and the distances that had to be covered on foot to reach respondents, there was no dearth of commitment and enthusiasm from the field researchers who gathered excellent and valuable data for the assessment.

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Chapter 4

THE ‘WE CAN’ ASSESSMENT IN BANGLADESH

4.1 CONTEXTUALISING THE CAMPAIGN

In Bangladesh, the last three decades have witnessed a slew of women-centric empowerment and development projects. Steered by civil society organizations, the government, and local and international organizations and institutions, the efforts are aimed at ameliorating the depressed situations of women, particularly those from marginalized sections of society. Programs are mainly targeted at income generation, health, and credit services. However, the status of women within the family has never been a priority, and it a matter of concern that incidences of violence against women and the girl-child are on the rise.

The ‘We Can’ South Asia Campaign, first launched in Bangladesh in September 2004 to end domestic violence against women. The 'We Can' campaign seeks to trigger a person-to-person chain-reaction of change in attitudes and behavior, on a scale that is sufficient to generate a mass social movement to end violence against women. However, as the Campaign began operation, the linear journey became a more organic process where the phases often overlapped. Although since the campaign has launched phase I and II, elements of the other phase are still taking place simultaneously. This is strength rather than a weakness, keeping the campaign flexible and capable of tackling unforeseeable challenges. Bangladesh has adopted the following strategies15:

- Alliance forming at national and district level
- Involvement of media
- Communication materials for Change Makers

The campaign is based on the belief that women are of equal value to men and violence against them is a violation of their basic human rights and thus there is a need to end violence against women. The goal of ‘We Can’ is to achieve a fundamental shift in social attitudes and beliefs that support and normalise violence against women across South Asia. Isolated attempts at challenging and changing entrenched attitudes are risky and so the broad-based campaign alliance is there to link individuals into a wider process of social change. Individuals and groups within communities determine the pace of change and alternative behaviors or preventive actions for themselves.

In the first year, the Campaign was focused on raising awareness against domestic violence. The concept of a Change Maker was introduced in 2005. The first Change Maker’s conference was held in June 2005, with the participation of 30,000 Change Makers. From 2005 onwards, the Campaign has rested on the shoulders of Change Makers for initiating mass awareness and action against VAW. Typical outreach platforms have included micro credit organizations, adolescent groups, beneficiaries of other social projects, educational institutions, and cultural/youth clubs.

In early 2004, Oxfam GB in Bangladesh met various rights based organizations and groups in the country to introduce ‘We Can’ and its proposed activities. This signaled the establishment of the

15 Annual Report 2009, We Can campaign Bangladesh, published by We Can Secretariat.
Campaign alliance. A Campaign secretariat was created within Oxfam GB, and a MOU was signed with the various partners who joined up. In 2006, in order to build an independent Campaign identity, the secretariat was shifted away from Oxfam, and a National Committee was formed. This National Committee consisted of Oxfam partners, women activists, social workers, trade union leaders, media persons, journalists, academics, government representatives, and NGOs. Two persons were also appointed for managing the ‘We Can’ secretariat. The various alliance partners of ‘We Can’ spearheaded a range of district-level Campaign activities in tandem with local partners.

The annual general meeting of the ‘We Can’ Alliance was first held in 2007. The new national committee, named We Can End DV National Committee, was formed. In 2008 the national alliance started working on forming district alliances. From 2008 the national alliance and the district alliance started to play the vital roles and the member organizations and Oxfam play the supportive role. From 2009, however, the strategy changed; it now laid emphasis on dissemination of ‘We Can’ messaging at the local level. The Campaign has started working with the ideas of re-engagement and deepening of changes, and involves the old Change Makers in the process. In Bangladesh ‘We Can’ was implemented in 55 of the country’s 64 districts.

The Campaign began its journey in 7 districts now in all; ‘We Can’ was implemented in 55 of the country’s 64 districts. Since 2009, in an effort to ramp up the programme, old Change Makers were re-engaged through ‘We Can’ events, where 0.9 million Change Makers themselves took the initiative.

4.2 CONTEXT OF THE SITES

Gaibandha district: Sahapara and Kamarjani Union

Gaibandha district is among the first sites in Bangladesh where ‘We Can’ was launched. From 2004 onwards, Campaign outreach to the Sahapara Union and Kamarjani Union (both rural sites) was managed with the help of alliance partner Gana Unnayan Kendra.

Sahapara Union

This union is a rural/ peri-urban site is situated at 5 km away from the zero point of Gaibandha district. It has a total population of 26,449. The government declared this an ideal union: over 65% of the population is educated; the main roads and streets are paved; and successful social forestry programmes on both sides of the roads have made their mark. Most of the people of the union work as day labour. In Shahapara Union, end of 2005, a local High School and Human Rights Drama Parishad joined the Campaign. The union’s Domestic Violence Prevention alliance was formed in 2006. In 2008, the “1000 events activity” was initiated to re-engage old Change Makers. The strategy was to motivate them to conduct small-scale awareness meetings and activities in their area that included outreach through mobile vans, street plays, films, and distribution of Phase II Campaign materials. At the time of the assessment, there were 1,029 Change Makers in Sahapara union.

Kamarjani union

Kamarjani Union is situated on the banks of the river Brahmaputra and is about 15 kilometres from the district town. This union too falls under Sadar Upazilla, and about 70% of its land is in different chars (strip of sandy land rising out of a river bed) of the Brahmaputra. There are about 4,576 families in the union, and they live conditions of food scarcity and a constant fight against the Monga (a kind of famine that lasts for 2-3 months). The Campaign in Kamarjani union was launched in 2004 through 10 Nari Samitis (women’s groups) and alliance partner Kunder Para Gano Unnayan Kendra. In 2005, a
40-member student’s forum also joined the Campaign. Through this forum, debates, competitions and street plays were organized for the students on the issue of women’s rights. In 2006, at the initiative of female Change Makers, an annual assembly of women was organized, the purpose of which was to voice public disapproval of domestic violence. A union-level Change Makers Assembly was held here in 2009. Nari Samitis are taking forward the Campaign in this area, which had 415 Change Makers in its fold when the study was conducted.

**Mymensingh district: Ward No.2, and Akua Union**

‘We Can’ got off the ground in Mymensingh in September 2008, under the aegis of Development Wheel (DEW), a non-profit development organization founded in 1996.

**Ward no. - 2**
The ward #2 of Mymensingh district is about 421 acres in area. This is an urban site and is located in the municipal area. The total population is 16488 and the rate of education is 72.65% (F-73%, M-72.4%). The number of people in the middle income group is higher than other income groups. It also has a large student population because of several educational institutions in the area. In 2009, Change Makers from this district took active part in the 1000 events activity (described above), and outreach through mobile vans, in 2010. The total number of Change Makers in the area is 184 (F-107, M-77). At present there are 3 different groups of Change Makers all active in the area.

**Akua Union**

Due to Akua Union’s location near a town, city life has intruded: its combination of lush paddy fields with densely constructed houses, narrow, ill-built roads, and constant water logging have turned it into an unhealthy place. Most residents are involved in non-agricultural activities; daily-wage labour and low-income groups predominate. Other occupations include: health workers, tailors, farmers, butchers, electrical mechanics, plumbers, workers in cottage industries, fisher folk, rickshaw-van pullers, and day labourers. ‘We Can’ was launched here in January 2009 through a group of 30 rural women. Currently, the Campaign is moving ahead under the leadership of 20 members, who have all participated in all the activities mentioned in the previous sites (described above). At last count, there were 1,424 (F-836, M-588) Change Makers in the area.

**4.3 SAMPLE SIZE**
The assessment studied 115 Change Makers and 307 people in their Circle of Influence (COI), totalling 422 respondents. Among the 115 Change Makers, 100 were re-engaged during Phase-II.

**Sample size by study sites**

- Sahapara Union, Gaibandha district CM-27 COI-75 Old site, Rural
- Kamarjani Union, Gaibandha district CM-29 COI-76 Old site, Rural
- Ward-2, Mymensingh district CM-32 COI-81 New site, Urban
- Akua Union, Mymensingh district CM-28 COI-75 New site, Rural

*Figure - 5: Sample size by study sites*
4.4 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Selection of Change Makers
After site selection, existing databases of the implementation partners and alliance members were used to prepare a list of Change Makers who were re-engaged with the Campaign through Phase II. The database incorporated the name, age, sex, village, occupation, and ID number of each Change Maker. The research team then checked the lists against the database of pre-selected areas. From this, a final list of 100 Change Makers (25 from each area/site) were selected, representative of age, sex, education, and occupation. An additional 15 Change Makers (2-7 from each area) who didn’t re-engage with the Campaign were included as well.

Selection of Change Makers’ Circle of Influence
During the course of the day-long workshop with Change Makers, they were requested to identify and list their COI. This was done through the social influence mapping exercise. The following information was collected from respondents: name of the person influenced by the Change Maker; relationship with the Change Maker; sex of the person, their marital status, age, and address/location of where the COI is based. After inputting this information, a proportional random sampling helped to arrive at the final list of 307 COI (those aged less than 16 and over 55 were eliminated).

4.5 DATA COLLECTION

Data was gathered in two stages, with Change Makers being reached out to first, followed by their COI.

Stage 1: Change Makers
Change Makers were invited for a day-long workshop and mixed methods (open ended unstructured interview, semi-structured interview, and social influence mapping) were combined to elicit responses. The workshops are divided into four sessions: introductory exercise; in-depth interview; an exercise to explore attitudes to VAW; and social influence mapping. Each workshop was attended by 8-9 Change Makers, and their information was captured by 16 information collectors. The one-on-one interviews with Change Makers were conducted by one interviewer and one note taker.

It was made amply clear to respondents that this was neither a ‘We Can’ training programme, and nor was it a Campaign follow up. The objectives and ethical bindings of the research were detailed, all of which were facilitated by the lead researcher.

Stage 2: Circle of Influence
The research team met the Circle of Influence respondents over semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGD). Respondents chose a suitable time and place for the interviews, while the FGDs (8 in total) were conducted at prearranged sites (4 in number). Each FGD typically comprised 5-6 respondents, chosen carefully to include persons of the same sex and with certain shared backgrounds and characteristics. Through the FGDs, an attempt was made to understand the collective changes in perception and belief of the COI respondents. Each FGD was facilitated by one person and another was assigned to take notes. The person responsible for capturing information filled up the structured forms.
4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis was undertaken in stages. Initially, the categories of deepening of change were fleshed out after a preliminary review of Change makers’ narratives. Thereafter, the assessment team read and re-read the narratives thoroughly before placing Change Makers in one or the other category of deepening of change. The context of the Change Maker and his/her life experiences were particularly taken into account when making this decision. The attitudes of Change Makers (measured through a structured interview) were then examined, by category, to explore differences if any. It may be noted that attitude measures were not used as a criteria to categorise Change makers. In the absence of baseline data on the attitudes of Change Makers, applying these criteria was not viable. Therefore, the criteria for different categories of deepening of change were applied carefully to each Change maker’s journey of change, to arrive at the category into which each Change Maker was placed.
Chapter 5

ASSESSMENT FINDINGS

This chapter has been divided into five segments. The first section outlines the profile of the Change Makers covered by the assessment. The second section details the engagement and re-engagement process, which is particular to the Bangladesh ‘We Can’ experience, and which creates a clear context for the next sections. The third section is on deepening of change. Section four fleshes out Change Makers’ understanding of VAW, including their notion of what constitutes a violence-free family and how women should respond to VAW in their lives. The fifth section contains findings on collective attitudinal shift.

5.1 SECTION I: PROFILE OF CHANGE MAKERS

The assessment attempted to incorporate a sample that was as representative as possible of the overall population of Change Makers throughout Bangladesh. The capturing of the multiplicity of the total population and their differing contexts (sex, marital status, age, occupational and education level, etc.) was a prerequisite, and built into the research methodology. (Annex Figure 1-4)

The assessment covered a total of 115 Change Makers and 307 people in their Circle of Influence. Of the COI, 259 were covered through structured interviews and 48 through focus group discussions. The quantitative results presented in this and subsequent sections are based on the data from the structured interviews with the 259 respondents.

Key Findings

- The profile of the Change Makers and the people in their Circle of Influence are quite similar in term of distribution of sex. From the Change Maker’s sample 56.5% are female and 43.5% are male. Among the member of COI the distribution of female and male are 56% and 44% respectively.
- There greater proportion of married respondent among the COI (62%) than the Change Maker (56.2%)
- The age profile of Change Maker is much younger 16-24 age group is 43.5% than those in their Circle of Influence 16-24 age group is 36.4%.
- The Change Maker group shows much better level of education than the COI respondent does. However the 21.8% Change Makers belongs to the graduate and above level, there only 12.4% from COI are in that level of education.
- This is also reflected in occupations where greater proportion of respondent from Change Maker are student 30.4% but in COI the percent of student 24.8% and greater proportion of COI (32.2%) are homemakers where the rate is 22.6% among Change Makers.
5.2 SECTION II: ENGAGEMENT AND RE-ENGAGEMENT

Re-engagement is a process through which the Campaign remains alive through different activities organized by Change Makers at the grassroots. The Phase II focus on re-engagement with Change Makers was aimed at escalating change and deepening personal transformations by factoring in a continuity of changes initiated in Phase I. This process was initiated in 2009, and Campaign activities were geared to seeding this. The assessment suggests that re-engagement with the issue has not been dependent solely on phase II activities. Rather, re-engagement seems to be more a function of the factors mentioned in the previous point. This is an important insight as it implies that while activity-based re-engagement is a contributing factor, we cannot arrive at a linear correlation between it and deepening of change. It was found the certain motivating factors worked particularly well in facilitating this, each working together in a complementary fashion. More than one factor served to re-engage Change Makers (see figure below).

Re-engaging Change Makers:

![Diagram showing re-engagement process]

**Some of the key insights**

- Re-engagement with the issue is closely linked to deepening of change. Evidence of engagement with the issue of VAW is much stronger among those who have shown significant or some deepening of change.
- Different events, campaign materials, and informal sharing of personal experiences before and after involvement with the campaign, has also played a role in deepening of change.
- The Change makers are re-engaged with the campaign as they find mental and emotional attachment with the issues of the We Can and their life experiences.
- In relation to Phase II activities 47% Change Maker re-engage through 1000 events, 34% through Mobile van campaign and 19% through News letter ‘Mukhomukhi’
- Other factors served to re-engage Change Makers were: On going campaign events (93.04%), Emotional attachment with campaign issue (49.56%), Positive results/notion of success/recognition (47.82%), Awareness raising campaign material (45.21%), Media and other projects activities (15.65%)
5.2.1 Re-engagement through Phase II activities

Re-connection strategies and activities over the course of Phase II of the Campaign included: courtyard and other meetings/events under the aegis of the “1,000 events” initiative; outreach through mobile vans; and dissemination of Mukhomukhi (Campaign newsletter produced for Bangladesh). Sub-activities included door-to-door campaigns, and institutionalization of the programme by reaching out to students, teachers and local governance platforms. ‘We Can’ messaging was reinforced to Change Makers, the Change Makers network was brought together, and stories and actions of change shared to build momentum around the Campaign. In Bangladesh, ongoing Phase I outreach activities continued simultaneous to Phase II programmes.

It was found that courtyard meetings were especially useful in drawing in female Change Makers who, due to mobility issues, would otherwise not have been able to get the chance to attend meetings. A significant addition to the Campaign was the newsletter. First published in 2009, it was seen as an important reconnection tool through which old Change Makers could connect with one another, and reinforce their own value in the Campaign.

“With ‘We Can’ started its journey in 2004, we participated in the discussion that was organised in our area and got a clear understanding about violence against women issues. I became involved with the Campaign. As part of Phase II activities, we participated in different activities—we travelled to various places in the mobilevan and tried to impart to people the perniciousness of dowry, violence, child marriage and eve-teasing. We also participated in rallies, palagaan (popular storytelling form), street plays, formed a human chain, and attended seminars under the 1,000 initiatives programme. We reconnected with the Campaign through these.”

**Male Change Maker (34), entrepreneur**

First of all, I took part in a WE CAN meeting that was held in my aunt’s house where I learned many things about domestic violence, dowry, and child marriage. I observed that many people in my locality became Change Makers and then I decided to become a Change Maker too. After becoming a Change Maker I took part in the courtyard meeting and understood the different dimensions of violence against women in detail. Besides my regular work of sewing, I started to act as a Change Maker to stop VAW. For the first time I participated in an activity out of my house through the mobile van rally. That generated huge interest and braveness within me to fight against violence.

**Female Change Maker, 16 years, unmarried**

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16 Each Change Maker was charged with initiating at least 10 interactions within their communities, with the understanding that even if only 100 Change Makers per district participated in this activity, the district would meet its target.
5.2.2 Other factors served to re-engage Change Makers

The cause of steady engagement with the issue has been a combination of the presence of other Change Makers in the vicinity; close contact with the implementing partner; regular actions that some of Change Makers seem to have taken. The Change Makers are re-engaged with the campaign as they find mental and emotional attachment with the issues of the We Can and their life experiences. The re-engagement role played by different factors shows considerable variation—and was dependent on which stage the Change Maker herself/himself was at the time of the activity. Exposure to violence in one’s personal life or in the life of another individual in the community is a strong underlying factor in motivating individuals to start addressing issues of VAW. The campaign materials that include messages, pictures and flipcharts; were attractive and people became aware about domestic violence, gender discrimination and women rights through those materials. These materials are perceived as very effective in influencing others to join the fight against domestic violence.

The following voices/narratives provide an insight into re-engagement of Change Makers through phase II activities. Note that names of respondents have not reflected to protect their anonymity.

“I became a Change Maker after participating in a village ‘We Can’ programme. I had the benefit of joining some of these are: rallies, a number of village campaigns, a drawing competition (subject: My Family in My Eyes), a college campaign, a debate, the district Change Makers’ conference, and outreach via the mobile van. We decorated the van as a model happy home and traversed the union’s towns. I also pasted posters at different places, and distributed Campaign materials. The courtyard meetings were held in many places. This slew of activities helped me to quickly gain detailed knowledge about VAW and women’s rights, and to meet many Change Makers.”

-Female Change Maker (21), student, unmarried

“I became a Change Maker after participating in a courtyard meeting near my house. The workers of the Campaign discussed with us, give us advice on how to solve problems, and handed us some materials such as Moyna O Akasher Shongshar, Shojibber Bodhody, Amader Anondo Bari, etc, for reading. I am convinced after reading those materials and that we need to resist violence against women.”

-Female Change Maker (26), homemaker

“I have been involved with ‘We Can’ for the past 5 years. I have bitter experiences of suffering violence in my personal life, and wanted to be freed of those. I joined this campaign to find out a way to be freed from this situation. Then I learned a lot, particularly that it is not women but men who are responsible for the sex of the child. Victimizing women for bearing a baby girl is wrong. I believe that the situation can change if women become more aware about themselves. Because of my own experiences and because I want to change society, I am involved with this Campaign.”

-Female Change Maker (38), married, homemaker

“In our village, a woman was tortured for dowry by her husband and mother-in-law. She used to be sent back to her father’s home to ask for money. We work in the human rights protection parishad and provide legal support. The woman applied to us for legal assistance. When we took her case to her husband and mother-in-law, they professed their guilt, and promised that they wanted her back home and would treat her with honour and would never beat her again. After this success, people in our community started trusting me and acknowledge our work. Thereafter, I became more active as I gained confidence about what we were capable of.”

-Male Change Maker (38), married
The above figure shows that among the other factors (93.04%) Change Maker re-engaged through ongoing campaign events, followed by (49.56%) emotional attachment with campaign issue, (47.82%) through positive results/notion of success/recognition, (45.21%) awareness raising campaign material, (15.65%) media and other projects, activities.

5.3 SECTION III: DEEPENING OF CHANGE
In Bangladesh, the assessment yielded essentially three groupings of Change Makers, based on their levels of deepening of change, ranging from those who experienced: a) significant deepening of change; b) some deepening of change; and c) heightened awareness and some action. The key difference between each lies in the extent of behavioural change and actions taken, which is in keeping with the Phase II emphasis that goes beyond the first step of developing awareness to the subsequent step of Change Makers acting on VAW issues.
Criteria for identifying the categories of deepening of changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant deepening of change</th>
<th>Some deepening of change</th>
<th>Awareness plus (Awareness and some action)</th>
<th>No change of any kind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Those showing a deeper understanding about VAW, which is, identifying newer forms of violence, in newer contexts, a sense of feeling more strongly about the issue of VAW.</td>
<td>1. Deeper understanding about violence against women and their capability of identifying new patterns and contexts of violence as well as their emotional attachment with the issue.</td>
<td>1. Change in the level of awareness about violence against women, gender discrimination and inequality.</td>
<td>1. Shows no awareness on the issue; has signed the ‘We Can’ form with no real understanding of the issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Those engaging others on the issue in terms of talking to them, sensitising them and convincing them to relate to the issue.</td>
<td>2. The examples of taking initiatives are present though their magnitude and quantity is less.</td>
<td>2. The initiatives that are taken limited to own life and family.</td>
<td>2. Those who do not show any involvement with issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Change Makers with examples of actions/behaviour change in one’s own life and a sense of continuity in taking actions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Change Makers showing examples of taking actions vis a vis situations involving other people and a sense of continuity in doing this. In other words they reflect continues engagement and re-engagement with issues of VAW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 2: Criteria for identifying the categories of deepening of changes

In Bangladesh there were three types of deepening of changes found, (1) Significant deepening of change (2) Some deepening of change (3) Awareness and some action.

The “aware with some actions” subcategory has driven by the context of Bangladesh. Because some Change Makers in Bangladesh do not strictly fall into either significant deepening of change or some deepening of change; though their awareness levels on the issue have risen, they have taken minimal actions, and have remained largely at the level of maintaining engagement with the issue on VAW.

The spread of the 115 Change makers along the continuum of deepening of change is as follows:

![Distribution of Change Makers in different categories of deepening of change](image)

Figure - 9: Categories of deepening of change
The categorisation of Change Makers has revealed that 71(61.7%) of them fall within the category of significant deepening of change, 38(33.0%) fall in the some deepening of change category, 6(5.2%) have shown enhanced awareness, and some action in any way.

![Area wise deepening of Change](image)

Figure - 10: Area wise deepening of Change

The site wise distribution has shown that in old sites the i.e, Sahapara and Kamarjani Union under Gaibandha district the highest proportion of Change Makers fall in the significant deepening of change category. Ward-2 and Akua Union under Mymensingh district the highest proportion of Change Makers fall in the some deepening of change category.

**CATEGORY 1: Change Makers exhibiting significant deepening of change**

Change Makers exhibiting significant deepening of change are seen to analyse the patterns, consequences, and background of domestic violence. They are able to identify the underlying causes of domestic violence, and its negative consequences in personal, family, and social lives. At the same time, they themselves have found ways to overcome those problems, not only within themselves, but in the larger society as well. Their anti-VAW actions are many and varied. They have shown that they are able to uphold those changes and are also capable of articulating their anti-VAW feelings. Change Makers in this category cited patriarchal social structures, conventional attitudes towards women, and religious and other superstitious as the main hindrances to women’s development. They are also convinced that the only route to total development is to create a violence-free and enabling environment in which both women and men can flourish. The narrative of next page exemplifies the changes being brought about by a female Change Maker.
CASE STUDY OF A FEMALE CHANGE MAKER

Rozina (31) is a teacher at the local girl’s school. Around the time that she completed her schooling (Class XII), some local ruffians threatened to kidnap her. Terrified, she ran away from home to her former fiancée’s house (with whom her marriage had once been fixed). But when she reached his house, she realized that he was already married. Faced with no other choice, she convinced him to marry her, as she could not return to her parental home in dishonour.

**Dogged by endemic societal abuse**

Rozina was sent to live with her in-laws while her husband stayed on in the city with his first wife. The everyday torture that she faced in her marital house forced her to swallow her shame and return to her parents. Determined to make something of herself, she went back to her books and completed her graduation, moved on to a postgraduate degree, after which she landed a teaching job at the local girl’s school. Her family was initially uncomfortable with her life decisions, but she was undeterred.

A male colleague in school introduced Rozina to ‘We Can’. The Campaign freed her—she realized that societal shackles on women bound them down, and religious superstitions gave teeth to retrograde attitudes that further restrict women.

**Attitudinal change through ‘We Can’**

As she immersed herself in the Campaign, Rozina’s thinking started evolving, and she came to firmly believe that “we can create a society of equal rights and no violence only when men and women begin to change their attitudes and actually believe that both sexes are on par with each other. The Campaign has helped me to become independent and my opinions are slowly being accepted by my family.”

As a teacher, Rozina is uniquely positioned to mould young minds, and she has capitalized on this by making her students aware of the equal rights of men and women, and the current scenario of victimization of women through dowry, child marriage and eve teasing. She was threatened with societal ostracization but Rozina remained undeterred.

Rozina recounted an instance where she was in real danger of being excommunicated for intervening in the case of the hilla marriage of a girl, whom she wanted to save from the ordeal. Her community was enraged, and they organized a salish (informal community mediation) to cut her off from her community. She used religious documents to prove that such a marriage was illegal. Her perseverance paid off and the marriage was called off. This was a watershed moment in her Campaign work, as she finally gained acceptance among her people.

Today, the community takes her suggestions very seriously, and she continues to solve VAW-related problems. Rural women seek her advice on personal and family concerns. She is also a regular contributor to journals where she writes on gender abuse and women’s rights. As the area representative ‘We Can’, she was asked to speak at the Rangapur regional meeting of Change Makers and at the national assembly of Change Makers in Dhaka.

**Discussion**

Rozina’s narrative paints a picture of the different types of violence faced by her through the many phases in her life. She presents a mix of a strong understanding of the issue as well as multiple actions that she has taken against VAW, both in her close family as well in the community. Her mental and emotional strength shines through in her determination to bring changes in the existing social structures. She has reached out actively to advocate for the issue and taken strong stands. Her own experiences of violence have made her relate with the issue very closely. Rozina clearly shows significant deepening of change.

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17 Name changed to protect respondent’s anonymity.
18 Eve teasing is a South Asian term for public sexual harassment of women.
19 A hilla marriage is a female’s interim marriage to a third person after a divorce to remarry the first husband.
Male Change Makers in the significant deepening of change category perceive women as human beings and also acknowledge their self-respect and self-identity. They themselves refrain from abusing women, as they believe that such actions violate the dignity of women.

CASE STUDY OF A MALE CHANGE MAKER

Safi20 is 43-year-old, a graduate, and is teaching. His household comprises his mother, wife and daughter. As his workplace (an island) is at a considerable distance from where he lives, he does not get to spend much time with his family.

A silent witness to abuse

Safi grew up watching his father torturing his mother. Much as he wanted to protest against such persecution, he couldn’t summon the guts to do so because he felt he could not raise his lone voice against a practice that enjoyed social sanction from times immemorial. It was always his wish that if he got the opportunity to work in an organized manner with others, he would resist such violence. ‘We Can’ helped him realise his dream. It enhanced his awareness of the context in which violence against women flourished, and the unequal status of women that perpetuated it. He became a Change Maker and joined hands with the Campaign to resist violence against women in a formal, institutionalised manner.

‘We Can’—an avenue to broker change

Safi narrated the personal changes within himself that were fuelled by the Campaign: “My negative perception of woman has totally altered. I used to think that a woman’s role was to offer services to men. And that it was the man’s role to enjoy those services. But my thoughts on that have changed. I don’t anymore think that women are inferior to men in any way. I also do my share of household work—it is my duty to do so. Today, I view women as human beings and believe that they have equal rights, including the right to dignity to live life. I am involved with these from the bottom of my heart and see my involvement in ‘We Can’ as part of my responsibilities towards society.”

So fired is Safi by the ‘tenet’ of the Campaign, that he is working hard to build the programme into a social movement. Starting off with initiating change at home, he is now actively raising awareness of VAW and domestic violence among school students and urging them to proaction on resisting abuse. He organises regular discussions on the topic, as a result of which, his students are empowered to discuss these issues with their family, friends, and neighbours. The Campaign messaging has struck home, and his students are working together in spearheading resistance to violence.

The results of this are apparent: child marriage is on the wane, girls’ school enrollment rates have gone up, and the incidence of VAW has gone down. An example of how Safi’s students are brokering change is the case of Choferuddin (name changed), who wanted his granddaughter to get married when she was in Class VIII. He arranged the liaison, fixed the date, but the girl was reluctant to get married. The girl’s classmates informed Safi.

Teacher and students together went to Choferuddin’s house and were successful in convincing him about the negative consequences of child marriage. The girl is continuing her studies, and is highly relieved to be able to do so.

Discussion:

The school in which Safi teaches is on an isolated island. The Campaign has focussed its operations through the school, involving the teachers and students alike. Safi is playing an important role in involving people from the community in the Campaign. As a result, the village statistics on domestic violence show that the magnitude of such abuse has plummeted. Additionally, more and more girls are enrolling in school, which points to the growing awareness among their guardians about the importance of women’s education.

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20 Name changed to protect respondent’s anonymity.
A mandate of the Campaign, especially in Phase II, was for Change Makers to grow their Circle of Influence (COI). Change Makers in the significant deepening of change category are spreading awareness in the community (close family members, friends, neighbours, relatives, students, parents of students, family members of friends), thus ensuring the dissemination of Campaign messaging.

### CASE STUDY OF A FEMALE CHANGE MAKER REACHING OUT TO HER COI

Orpita is 24, and is doing her graduation. She lives with her parents, brother and sister.

**Condoning male supremacy**

When Orpita reached adolescence, she was disallowed from going out to play. She was instructed by her mother to immerse herself in household work instead. When her family tried to arrange her marriage, she insisted that she wanted to study like her cousins and had the desire to accomplish something of her own. Her family was against her pursuing higher education as it meant that she had to stay elsewhere in order to do so. Her brother had no such constraints and was studying in town, and she too wanted the opportunity. After a long drawn-out battle, she was finally allowed to study in town.

Orpita always chafed at the disadvantaged life lead by her (and other girls). Her brother (and other males) enjoyed privileged positions in the household, but socialisation is such, Orpita grew up believing that women are meant for household work, and men should take on outside work/responsibilities. Moreover, she viewed men as decision makers.

**The turning point**

In 2009, one of the senior students in her college—noticeing that Orpita seemed to hold the same views as him, though was afraid of expressing them openly—told her about ‘We Can’. She participated in discussions, meetings, rallies, and a Change Makers’ conference. She studied the different Campaign reading materials and realised that her perception that males were superior to women was not correct. Her world changed.

“I joined the ‘We Can’ Campaign, and gained the self-confidence to do many things that I would otherwise have thought impossible. I started to discuss VAW issues with others. My college and hostel mates, though they’re studying, are really preparing themselves for marriage. I tried to convince them to change their perceptions.”

She spoke to them about women being independent beings; that they are not only born to become someone’s wife. In the beginning, her friends rebelled against the idea, telling her that women couldn’t do many things that men could.

Her male friends too commented: “You are a woman and you don’t need to work outside the house. You should take on household responsibilities only. You are studying; you will get a good husband. Go to his family and be happy there.” To which she would reply: “We (women) have come here (to study) with the same capacities as you, and are capable of doing what you can do.”

Her perseverance paid off. Slowly, she saw the mind set changes in her friends. Now, her female friends’ attitude to education is that it will establish them in life. Her male and female friends are beginning to change their perceptions of VAW, women’s unequal status, and how men are also liable to benefit if VAW was reduced. Many of the men have become Change Makers and are equally involved as Orpita in resisting violence in their neighborhood.

**Discussion**

At home, Orpita experienced the disparity between her and her brother right from her childhood. But she was firm in that she wanted to continue her education. ‘We Can’ was a vehicle of change for her, and she has used it well to spread anti-VAW messaging by involving people in her widespread network. She was able to build a huge mass of COI within a short period of time. She has the skills to convince people with logic. This information is reaffirmed by the members of her COI, who state that she has leadership qualities because of which she has been able to bring change not only in her own life, but in her surroundings, as well.

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21 Name changed to protect the respondent’s privacy.
Many Change Makers in this category have been successful in institutionalising change through the organisations that they are a part of. This collective effort had a snowball effect in the community, serving a many-to-many outreach function. Some examples of these are given below.

“I used to think that woman are meant to be housewives. Now I know that there is no difference between men and woman, as women are capable of doing anything that men can.” He understands the equality in terms of work wages and deploys women labour in his agricultural land and pays them wages equal to male workers.

The Change Maker is a member of farmers’ club, library, and government primary school. Because of him, all the members of the club perceive themselves as Change Makers. Either collectively or in their individual capacity, the club members resist any kind of domestic violence and attend Salish meetings (community mediation)\(^{22}\) so that women get proper justice.

--- Male Change Maker (51), agriculturist

Though women’s mobility continues to be more restricted when compared to that of men, female Change Makers have been able to make a huge impact on others by holding courtyard meetings that make it easy for women to attend. In this process, women’s leadership qualities are being sown and nurtured. Many Change Makers have been able to wean their husbands away from forcing sexual abuse on them, something that was hitherto unheard of. The newfound assertion in women has also been instrumental in breaking away from pernicious social customs like hilla marriages\(^{22}\). Some of the narratives presented below highlight this change.

“My father was very liberal and I studied till SSC (senior secondary school). But when I faced several untoward instances of eve-teasing, of boys proposing love and marriage, and abduction threats for not complying with their wishes, my parents stopped my education and got me married. Then the toughest period of my life started. My husband told me a story on my first night of marriage. The story goes like this: A wife asked her husband for a diamond nose ring. Because of economic limitations, he was unable to do so. One day, after a bitter quarrel between husband and wife, he committed suicide. In his suicide note he asked his wife to buy a nose ring. My husband told me that story so that I wouldn’t ask him for anything. My relationship with my husband was like master and servant. I was compelled to do anything he asked.”

She wanted to start working, but her husband couldn’t countenance the fact that she would be solvent. Later, as a widow, she became the president of a human rights women’s society. That’s when she heard of ‘We Can’, attended a meeting in Union Parishad, and became a Change Maker.

She has now got rid of the age-old ideas ingrained in her—that women should have less food, and should eat only after everyone else has. Guilty of discriminating between her children (she used to lavish affection and give food preference to her sons), she has allowed her daughters to take on jobs. She now firmly believes that women have the right to free movement, education, and jobs. She has taken the initiative to make the women of her village self-reliant by teaching them sewing skills. So far 22 women have taken on tailoring job-work and are earning an income. Through courtyard meetings she is propagating to people in her community the negative consequences of violence and child marriage.

--- Female Change Maker (55), widow

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\(^{22}\) In Bangladesh, a salish is used to settle disputes and conflicts by involving respected elders and opinion makers in the area. It is a highly public activity and typically men are called upon to serve as salishedars or mediators.
In the case of male Change Makers who fall in the deepening of change category, all of them perceive their wives as equal partners, and they have changed significantly in their attitude to what was earlier considered to be ‘women’s work’. Most of them now help with domestic chores, many of their wives work outside the home, mutual decision-making is encouraged, and a majority of them have stopped indulging in domestic violence. They have taken stands on gender discrimination as well, from allowing their daughters an education, to taking anti-domestic violence stands in the community.

“When the ‘We Can’ Campaign started in my area, I attended some meetings (debate competition, workshop, seminar, mobile van activity) and read the materials that made me think about domestic violence. I decided to work on the issue.” He joined the Campaign within a short period of time. Since then, he has been active in propagating Campaign messaging through street plays, street narratives, debates, and rallies. The changes within himself have been profound. He helps his wife with different types of housework including washing clothes, cooking, and taking care of the baby. This has filled his relationship with his wife with a new dimension that is full of love and warmth. “In our village, we are against registering property in your wife’s name, but after associating with ‘We Can’, I understand the necessity of signing property in her name and went ahead with it, against the norms of the society. I was heavily criticised by all, but it did not bother me.”

Being a Change Maker has made him realise how his father used to dishonour his mother, and he is keen to bring value back into women’s lives. He started off with one instance: he noticed that a Class VII student (girl) was absent for a while. On investigation, he found that the girl was to be married. Fervently realising that if girl child marriages would come to an end in his rural community, many lives could be saved, he met the girl’s guardians to discuss the negative consequences of early marriage. Some of his colleagues also helped him in this endeavour. After that, none of his school students got married. This first brush with success gave him the courage to work further on the issue.

--Male Change Maker (27), teacher

CATEGORY 2: Change Makers exhibiting some deepening of change

Among our sample of Change Makers, 33% displayed some deepening of change. In analysing this category of Change Maker, we looked for the following features: deep understanding of VAW and capacity to identify new patterns and contexts of violence; emotional attachment with the issue; and quantity and quality of actions taken against female abuse.

Change Makers in this category are able to explain the patterns of domestic violence and its consequences in general, and are able to compare these with one’s own life. However, there are some gaps in analysis regarding the context of violence in others’ lives. These Change Makers are not as capable as those falling in the significant deepening of change category of problem solving. In some cases they are cognisant of only the traditional ways of handling gender related concerns. These Change Makers’ anti-VAW actions are far fewer (and are often limited to their close community) than those taken by the first category of Change Makers.

The narratives of next page provide an insight into Change Makers who show some deepening of change.
This Change Maker nurtured a desire for higher education (she has an SSC degree), but as she had many siblings, her father was unable to bear the expense of educating her further. Moreover, as she grew older, she faced the inevitable eve-teasing at the hands of local goons, so going to school was an unpleasant experience. She met her husband in a village fair, they fell in love and got married with the consent of both families. But married life was not a bed of roses. Her mother-in-law didn’t like her to go outside of the house, and her husband would abuse her. Soon, they moved out of the joint family and started life a fresh on their own. In order to supplement her husband’s inadequate income, she took up a job with NGO. She became an elected member of the union parishad (local government) on the advice of her husband. She first realised that she has suffered discrimination and abuse at the hands of her natal family, husband, mother-in-law and local goons when ‘We Can’ introduced her to the subject of violence against women. The street plays and Campaign posters were an eye opener to the various forms of abuse routinely heaped upon women. She became a Change Maker as the issues discussed resounded with her own personal experiences, and she wanted to see change. She decided to change her own outlook first. She stopped discriminating between her children and started treating them equally, including giving them the same food.

This Change Maker showed grit and determination in taking up a job for her family’s betterment. By taking up government office, she became a community leader, and is also spreading Campaign messaging. However, considering her position as an elected leader, she could have taken more concrete action against VAW, that is why she falls in the second category of Change Makers, and not the first category.

--Female Change Maker, 40, union parishad member

This person became a Change Maker in 2005, thinking that as a retired school teacher, he was in a position to effect change. He believes that the social order oppresses women at every step, and that such communities are ‘strained’ as they are not engendering to progress. A fairer society, according to him, is a non-violent one: “I firmly made up my mind to work for oppressed women and try to serve them. I am also trying to make people aware of domestic violence. This is bringing me great joy.”

He is sensitizing his family, neighbors and relatives on gender abuse issues. He asks them to refrain from violence, and has succeeded in many instances from preventing people from abusing women. He is continuing his efforts to rid his community of violence.

-- Male Change Maker (60), years old, retired teacher

Youths in this category of Change Makers are advocating anti-VAW messaging (especially domestic violence) to their peer group. It is also noticed that young male Change Makers can facilitate the process of developing women’s leadership.

This young boy lives in a joint family where he is given preferential treatment over his sisters, who used to get very angry on that account. In 2006, the Campaign started working in the schools in his area, and his teacher inspired him to become a Change Maker. He took part in various Campaign activities and learnt about the destructive effects of VAW, child marriage, and dowry. He now knows that this is grossly unjust. The first thing he did was to express to his mother how his sisters were being discriminated against at home by her. Next, he changed his own behaviour: ‘I and my friends used to eve-tease, but after becoming a Change Maker, I understand that this is not correct. I stopped, and also asked my friends to refrain from such acts. They wouldn’t listen to me and would hurl abuses at me instead. But I continued with my efforts succeeded in convincing them.”

This Change Maker’s expressed commitments are: he won’t take dowry, won’t torture his wife, and will protest if his father abuses his mother.

--Male Change Maker (17), SSC student, unmarried
As mentioned earlier, Change Makers in this grouping often respond to Campaign messaging with empathy borne out of their own life experiences. Their emotional response to certain issues draws them into the Campaign and turns them into Change Makers.

This Change Maker had a happy childhood, but when she was married off at an early age (immediately after finishing her primary education) to an aged man, her life changed. Her husband was ill-tempered and would get angry with her. Despite this, she didn’t think that she was facing violence. In 2008, a ‘We Can’ discussion that she attended made her review her own situation. When she compared her life with what was being talked about in the meeting, she realized that she was a prey to violence. She became a Change Maker to fight for women’s dignity and rights. She was able to prevent her neighbour’s underage daughter from being married off—she remembered her own story and did not want the young girl to suffer as she had. She has also been actively resisting polygamous marriages in her family.

---Female Change Maker (40), widow

**CATEGORY 3: Change Makers exhibiting heightened awareness and some action**

The third category of Change Makers (65.2%) yielded by the assessment show awareness of VAW issues, though with very little action. These Change Makers recognize four kinds of domestic violence: physical, mental, economic, and sexual. They do not always display a nuanced comprehension of what constitutes gender abuse.

Change Makers in this category, while able to bring about changes around their personal and daily behaviours and attitudes, are relatively less active than other Change Makers. It was found that they have occasionally discussed domestic violence with others, but that was restricted to their family members. It was found that most of the Change Makers in this category are from the new intervention sites, which could perhaps account for their fledgling involvement with actively reaching out to others.

They all conveyed a commitment to working with the Campaign in future. The following are some examples of the perceptions and life experiences of Change Makers in this category.

The Change Maker was forced into marriage at the age of 10. Because of her dark complexion and because her family did not pay dowry in advance, she faced discrimination and violence from the very beginning of her married life in her in-laws’ house. She was divorced within a very short span of time, and returned to her natal home. There, she re-started school, but within a year, she was married off to a 50-year-old man. Though she didn’t face physical torture from her new husband, she was not allowed to go out freely or to talk to any unknown person. She gave birth of one son and two daughters. Her husband died after 25 years of marriage.

She joined the Campaign in 2005, after attending a meeting. She heard information about domestic violence and the various patterns of violence. Though she didn’t take part in any subsequent ‘We Can’ activities, she is linked with other Change Makers in her area and welcomes any information that they have to share on VAW.

She articulates that she now knows that violence deprives women of their rights, including not able to enjoy free movement, take part in decision making processes, and talking to others. She also said: “I became courageous after becoming a Change Maker and believe that we will be able to change the scenario of violence against women.”

---Female Change Maker (42), widow, studied till SSC
Due to his father’s illness and payment of a huge dowry for his sister’s marriage, the Change Maker had to stop studying after his SSC. He began working in town as electrician, like his father. His father, who has another wife, takes care of that family, while this young man looks after his village-based mother. He became a Change Maker in 2009 after attending a discussion. He learnt about his roles and responsibilities as a Change Maker. Though he is a relatively new inductee into ‘We Can’, he states that he is determined to work on VAW issues. He believes that people need to work together to prevent domestic violence.

—Male Change Maker (20) electrician

5.4 SECTION IV: CHANGE MAKERS’ UNDERSTANDING OF VAW AND VIOLENCE-FREE FAMILIES

This section details the results of the assessment in terms of attitudes of Change Makers. It analyses their opinions on a range of issues centred around discrimination and abuse of women, ranging from women’s mobility to child marriage, economic dependency, favouring of male children, education of the girl-child, and other restrictions on their rights.

Change Makers were asked several questions to assess their understanding of VAW. These questions were divided into two parts. The first set of questions discussed in 5.4.1 were open-ended where respondents were asked to: indicate what VAW meant to them, whether they felt that it was a community-level problem, specify their understanding of violence free homes, and how women should respond to domestic violence. The second set of questions discussed in 5.4.2 consisted of a set of 10 statements on gender roles and VAW, to which Change Makers were asked to express their agreement or disagreement (in degrees).

5.4.1 Change Makers’ understanding of VAW

The assessment found that Change Makers have a clear understanding of four types of violence: physical, mental, economic, and sexual. Change Makers’ narratives corroborate this. They are able to identify the various forms of violence that they and others have been subjected to. They have become conscious of the fact that women are tortured at every stratum live, be it within the family or without, and are able to identify these. They opined the following are acts of domestic violence: deprive women from rights, family rules deny women their rights, teasing of girls, restricted mobility, not listening to women’s opinions, etc.
## Change Makers’ understanding of VAW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To torture women/wife/ daughter-in-law /to treat wife badly as per mother’s wishes/mental tension/keeping women in a state of fear</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating wife after coming home in drunk state/if she refuses to give money/beating/beating for mistakes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slapping for any reason</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism/objection to all the work she does</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scolding/abusing</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not giving food/ allocated less food</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restriction of rights/deprive from inheritance/not allowed male friend</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignoring opinion /forcing others’ opinion on her/ force her to take permission for all kinds of work</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic violence /taking away her earnings/depending solely on her earnings</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No freedom of her own/cannot do anything as per her wishes/doing everything against her wishes</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disrespectful treatment in bus /train /public transport/eveteasing/sexual harassment</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deprive her of higher education/ less access to education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced sex/making women wake up for intercourse/ when she is sick/sexual relations without consent</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempt to throw woman/daughter-in-law out of the house</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not allowing her to talk to others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment over dowry/demand money even after dowry</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopping daughters from going out by mothers/restriction on mobility/forbidding woman from visiting natal family</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force wife to work all the time/doing all the household work alone/force her to work in many houses for more income</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force widows to follow religious rules</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrying off daughter at very young age/child marriage</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deprivation of education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent/unacceptable behaviour</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humiliation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forcing woman to have sex with others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusing to give money when she asks</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any behaviour that hurts the woman/not helping in work</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acid throwing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making women dependent on men/perceive women as weak</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domination (by women on women, and by men on women)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not allowing women to work</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not allowing women to take decisions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t fulfill wife’s needs/focus on wife’s mistakes/not want to understand women/constantly demanding an explanation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation or divorce of couple</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>445</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>387.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table - 3: Change Makers’ understanding of VAW*
5.4.2 Change Makers’ understanding of what constitutes a violence-free family

According to Change Makers, the main feature of a violence-free family is one that had an awareness of women’s rights. The areas of their reflected perceptions on what women should be allowed to do are: freedom of movement, participate in income generation activities, take part in salish, express personal desires, participate in family and social decision-making processes, equal property rights, decision making power in (agreeing to or disagreeing to) sexual intercourse, reproductive rights, etc. For most Change Makers, desirable traits of violence-free families are that they be non-discriminatory and where women have equal rights. Most of them agree that mutual understanding is a must to uphold peace in the family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good relation with husband, in-laws</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No fights/ quarrels</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone gets equal food</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone’s voice is heard/equal decision-making and participation</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No beating of women/mother-in-law does not beat daughter-in-law</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone behaves well with each other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the children are going to school</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help each other in household work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educating both sons and daughters</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding/trusting each other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal rights for couple</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equally fulfill the demands of both sons and daughters/equal respect aspirations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son/daughter and daughter-in-law are treated equally/accept daughter-in-law as an equal member of the family/daughter-in-law eats with all other members</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are free to go anywhere</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters-in-law are allowed to take up employment</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All family members should have sympathy, unity and love for each other</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All family members get adequate food all the time/there is no poverty</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrificing for other family members</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are happy in their house</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being violent because of dowry</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early marriage not happening</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few family members/nuclear family/small family</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The four kinds of violence (mental, physical, economic, sexual) do not exist/economic freedom exists</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>280</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>243.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4: Violence-free family*
5.4.3 Change Makers’ perceptions on whether VAW is a social problem

Change Makers perceive domestic violence as a multi-dimensional problem, and a social, national and universal concern. The study revealed that Change Makers believe that overall change is not possible unless women are allowed to change. The roadblocks that put constraints on this happening are: patriarchal society, conventional perceptions, and religious superstitions.

Change Makers’ views on whether VAW is a community-level problem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families are harassed/ turmoil situation created in family and society</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When case in court, lots of money is wasted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are mental pressures/family problem</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society will not progress on account of this problem/without developing women’s status, society will not progress</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happens in every society/it is a universal problem</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to ignorance violence takes place/If awareness increases the problem will not exist.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All men act violently/men perceive it as normal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women have no caste/creed--everywhere they face violence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a community-level problem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If women are deprived, violated and humiliated, it is a social disease</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is increasing so we all should engage in efforts to reduce domestic violence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male-dominated society/women are not respected by men</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals and families have been learning from others</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not judged to torture women/women can’t go outside the circle</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are tortured in the family/it destroys her life/may commit suicide</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAW is a social problem as women are part of society</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>156</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>138.1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 5: Change Makers’ views on whether VAW is a community-level problem

5.4.4 Change Makers’ perceptions on what a woman can do when she faces violence

The study found that the majority of female Change Makers have been able to stave off forced sexual intercourse at the hands of their husbands through discussions with them. As for young female Change Makers, they aver that the Campaign has helped them attain courage, and the strength to protest and resist. Their efforts to establish their rights is ongoing, as they feel that once they can stand up for themselves, violence will come down.
Change Makers’ perception on what a should woman do when she faces violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keep quiet as it is part of married life</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to natal family</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to relatives</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seek help from police/union parishad/women’s group</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to husband and explain</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consult astrologer/priest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to neighbours/friends</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk to Change Makers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to natal family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The torturers should be tortured</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take legal action</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell everyone so that they protest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must protest/should not tolerate violence</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She can commit suicide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find out the cause of violence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase awareness among perpetrators</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need social initiatives/take steps for local justice</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 262 100.0 227.8

Table - 6: Change Makers’ perception on what a should woman do when she faces violence

5.4.5 Change Makers’ Perspective on Violence Free Families

Understanding of Change Makers regarding violence-free families Change Makers’ attitudes regarding what constitutes a violence free family were assessed by eliciting their opinion on a set of 9 behaviours, in addition to an open-ended questionnaire. For purposes of analysis, these behaviours were divided into the following three themes:

1. Behaviours related to women’s rights
2. Behaviours relevant to gender discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WOMEN’S RIGHTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband and wife take all the major decisions together</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife cannot go out of the village/community without asking her husband</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife is denied money as husband gets her everything</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>94.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENDER DISCRIMINATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the children are sent to school</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys and girls get the same kind of food</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter is married off before the age of 18 if the family finds a good match</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>94.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All family members can express their opinions freely</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACCEPTANCE OF VIOLENCE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband abuses his wife occasionally</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>95.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-in-law abuses the daughter-in-law if she does not cook properly</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>93.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 7: Change Makers’ Perspective on Violence Free Families
On analysis, it was found that almost every Change Maker shows a clear understanding and perception of what constitutes a violence free family. Change Makers were able to present their anti-VAW position on women’ rights, gender discrimination, and non-acceptance of violence.

1. **Women’s rights**: The findings suggest that the rights of women in a violence free family are of utmost importance for Change Makers. 97.4% of them opined that a family where the couple takes mutual decisions is violence free. As to what constitutes a family that is not violence free, the responses were: wife is not allowed by her husband to go out of the village (91.3%); and husband denies his wife money (94.8%). Thus, for Change Makers, joint decisions, freedom of movement, and economic rights exemplify violence-free families.

2. **Gender discrimination**: Most Change Makers perceive gender equality as an attribute that epitomizes violence free families. As many as 99.1% are of the opinion that a family where all the children are sent to school and are given the same quality and quantity of food, irrespective of sex, is violence free. A huge proportion (97.4%) qualified that in violence free families, all members are allowed the space to express their opinion. A family that was not violence free, on the other hand, lacked equality and also married off their underage girls.

3. **Non-acceptance of violence**: According to 95.7% Change Makers, families where the husband abuses the wife even occasionally are not violence free. Equally, 93.9% felt that in families where the mother-in-law ill-treated the girl, the family was not violence free.

5.4.6 Change Makers’ Perspective on acceptance of Violence
Change Maker attitudes to gender roles and VAW were assessed by eliciting their opinion on a set of 10 statements. For the purposes of analysis, these statements were divided into the following themes:

1. Acceptance of violence
2. Acceptance of women speaking out against DV (domestic violence) and seeking community support
3. Women’s rights
4. Sharing of work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptance of violence</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Some what disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An occasional slap by the husband does not amount to domestic violence</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man is never justified in hitting his wife</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should tolerate domestic violence as it is their responsibility to keep the family together</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence in any form is unacceptable</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table - 8: Acceptance of violence*
Change Makers agreed with the statement that a man is never justified in hitting his wife and that this is unacceptable behaviour. They agreed that: a husband does not have the right to torture his wife, violence is a crime, torturing someone can never solve problems.

They disagreed with the statement that women should tolerate domestic violence because it is their responsibility to keep the family together. They believed that all family members are equally responsible for maintaining harmony in the home. They also agreed that violence in any form is unacceptable. Their reasons for this included: violence is always unacceptable, violence is a crime/anti humanity/sin, and violence creates instability in the family, community, and country. The few who were for the motion that women should tolerate domestic violence, argued that as a homemaker and woman, she was expected to take some amount of abuse. 78.3% of Change Makers strongly disagreed with the statement that women should not talk about their experiences of domestic violence with anyone, because they perceived that solutions could be found by talking to others. They felt that if one did not discuss such matters, violence would only increase. They strongly recommended that women should not keep quiet about VAW. Those Change Makers who believed that women should maintain a silence about domestic violence cited the reason that families need to safeguard their social respect.

### Acceptance of women speaking out against DV and seeking community support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptance of women speaking out against DV and seeking community support</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Some what disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women should not talk about their experiences of domestic violence with anyone</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>78.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is the responsibility of the community to support women who face violence</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table - 9: Acceptance of women speaking out against DV and seeking community support*

The majority of Change Makers agreed with the statement that it is the responsibility of the community to support women who face violence. Their main reason for this response was because they felt that one should help each other within communities. The 1.7% of Change Makers who felt strongly that neighbours and the community should not intervene in cases of DV, stated that it was important to first find out the causes for why the family was torturing the girl/woman.

### Women’s rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women’s rights</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Some what disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denying money to your wife is a form of domestic violence</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband can demand sex from wife whenever he wants</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men deserve more rights than women</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table - 10: Women’s rights*

Change Makers who agreed that denying money to one’s wife was a form of domestic violence, felt that a wife can need money for several reasons, that it is her right, and that denying money is economic violence. Those Change Makers who were in disagreement with the statement said that a wife could always ask her husband to get whatever she needs.
Change Makers who disagreed with the notion that a husband can demand sex from his wife whenever he wants, gave the following reasons for their response: women have likes and dislikes, she can be physically ill, both her opinion and consent for sex are important. Change Makers who agreed that a man could demand sex from his wife whenever he pleased, stated that a man would only go out to get sex if his wife turned him down.

73% of Change Makers strongly disagreed that men deserve more rights than women as, according to them, both women and men have equal rights. Those who felt that men were more deserving of rights, defended their stance by saying that a husband knows more and also because he earns for the family.

### Sharing of work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sharing of work</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Some what disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharing housework does not suit men</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 11: Sharing of work

The belief that men should share in housework has a very high degree of endorsement. They believe that: everyone can do every type of work, when a family works together housework can be accomplished quickly, if women can look after the home and take up a job outside home, then men can do the same, and if one partner is ill, the other one can chip in. However, a few Change Makers agreed that housework is the responsibility of women, that men work very hard whole day and can’t be expected to help in the house a well.

Discussion: From the findings, it is apparent that monumental change has taken place in the attitudes of Change Makers. In terms of mentionable activities that represent the change, is that male Change Makers have involved themselves in household work (upturning the conventions and gender bias around division of labour on the basis of one’s sex), on the one hand, and are actively protesting VAW, on the other hand. Another significant change is that with regard to women’s rights, and a heightened level of awareness about sexual violence and sexual rights.

### 5.5 SECTION V: COLLECTIVE ATTITUDINAL SHIFT

Collective attitudinal change was measured by interviewing Change Makers’ Circle of Influence (COI). In other words, people named by Change Makers as individuals whom they or/and the Campaign had impacted.

#### 5.5.1 Circle of Influence and Systems Impacted

In arriving at whether collective attitudinal shift is taking place or not, we considered both people and systems in this research. Change Makers’ COI includes individuals within their ambit (family, relatives, friends, colleagues, peer group, neighbours).

By systems, here we want to mean that a number of person who have the similar identity, as for example husband-wife, daughter-son, father—mother all together is a family. Here we think family as a unit, and we be marked as system. We are trying to portrait the systems and Circle of Influence in our selected study areas:
Of the 115 Change Makers covered by the study, 111 Change Makers offered up a significant number of names of people in their Circle of Influence 640, of which only 307 were contactable. From the 307 COI, the assessment administered structured interviews to 259, and 48 participated in focus group discussions.

### Site-wise number of COI per Change Maker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Change Makers</th>
<th>Number of COI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sahapara Union, Gaibandha District</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamarjani Union, Gaibandha District</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward-2, Mymensingh District</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AkuaUnion, Mymensingh District</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table-12: Site-wise number of COI per Change Maker*

### Distribution of COI by System

- Relative 51 (17%)
- Family 98 (31%)
- Neighbour 94 (30%)
- Friends 57 (19%)
- Others 5 (2%)
- Colleague 2 (1%)

*Figure-12: Distribution of COI by System*
The figures show the total number of people in the respondent Change Makers’ COI per site. Change Makers in Sahapara Union, Gaibandha district listed the maximum COI (183), while Change Makers from Ward-2, Mymensingh district listed the least COI (129). The figure also shows the distribution of Change Makers’ COI (640) across systems. Across the sites family covered highest number of COI followed by neighbour except Ward-2 under Mymensingh District because student Change Makers are high in that particular site.

5.5.2 Profile of Change Maker’s Circle of Influence (COI)

The number of female COI (56%) is more in comparison to male COI (44%). The rate of married COI is almost double that of unmarried COI. 36.4% COI are aged between 16-24 years, which reflects that they are very young. About 10% COI are above 50 years in age. In terms of occupation, the majority are homemakers (32.2%), followed by students (24.8%). We have seen that most changes start from within the home, hence the number of homemakers is the highest. Educationally, the maximum number of COI fall in the Class 6-9 band (25.7%). There are 4.6% illiterate COI in the sample population, and 17.3% can only write their names. Of the 307 COI sample, 259 respondents were assessed through structured questionnaires, and 42 participated in FGDs. (See Annex Table-1)

*Insights on extent of spread of change within systems*

Of the total 115 sample of Change Makers, 111 (96.5%) have reported spreading change beyond themselves, into systems within the community, while 4(3.5) report no change in any system around them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change Makers reporting</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>Percentage of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change one or more systems</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No change in any systems</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table - 12: Change makers reporting change and impact on systems in their environment*
The narrative data of other page effectively illustrate the changes in the Change Maker’s COI. These are examples of the variety of changes being articulated by the COI and represent the larger mass of narratives gathered from the COI.

Figure - 14: Change Makers reporting change and impact on systems in their environment
Social Influence Mapping of Tania, Change Maker, Mymensing

Mother allows going out and having friendship with male classmates. Mother says ‘Now I realize the importance of female education. So I send my daughter to a college for higher education.’

Brother participates in household work and discuss about domestic Violence with their friends

Get the courage to go out alone

Friends

Women have the ability do all types of work. ‘I think women should involve in income generating activities for being self-sufficient.’

Others (Brother’s Friend)

In our area, people now conscious about domestic violence and girls education. Therefore, they keep themselves away from making domestic violence as well as sending their girls to school.

FGD

Conscious about female education and send their girls for higher education in town.

Participate in household work

Allow her daughter in laws to go outside of home for some income generating activities

Discussing about domestic violence and protest any kind of violence in their community

Maternal aunt able to identify the all type of violence

Maternal Uncle discuss with his family Members to take any decision. Also believe both men and women can participate in all types of work.

Neighbor

Relatives

Change Maker

Family

Please note that all name of respondent have been changed to protect her anonymity.

Figure - 15: Social Influence Mapping of Tania, Change Maker, Mymensing
5.5.3 Relevance of VAW and ‘We Can’ to the members of COI

100% member of Circle of Influence reported having heard about VAW. The most commonly reported source is the Change Maker, quoted by 94.2%, followed by the community events (11.6%), television (11.2%), neighbour (11.2%), friends or relatives (5.9%). Newspaper (5.8%). It reflects that the sources of massaging on VAW for this group were multiple and issues of are discussed in different systems.

A significant proportion of people in the Change Maker’s COI have found the issue of VAW relevant in their context. More specifically, reflects that topics seemed relevant to the COIs include we should not quarrel in the family with women (21.2%), followed by Women should not be tortured for dowry (17.8%) Men and women have equal rights (10.4%), should commit for no violence against women in any form (8.5%). They realised women facing violence in various forms (6.9%) and understanding on how to prevent VAW (6.9%)

Among the respondents from the COI group about 88% had heard about the We Can Campaign by its name and they were able to explain the objective of the campaign is to stop violence against women (76.2%), facilitate the process of maintaining a peaceful family life (46.8%), followed by understand the forms of violence (42.9%). Many respondents felt that the objective of the campaign is to enhance a personal change process. They also mentioned equal rights, prevention of violence, to aware people about different forms of domestic violence. Among the respondents from the COI group about (88%) had heard about the ‘Change Maker’ by its term and COIs explain that the Change Maker someone who works on VAW (31.7%), who changes himself/herself and changes others the person (29.4%). who tells to others not to commit VAW (14.7%), who motivates the member of COI to stop VAW (11.9%) and who raises their voice against domestic violence (10.1%).

The members of the COI were influenced by the statements of the Change Makers. The most common response was: to work on VAW (24.7%) followed by “we should not engage in any form of DV (15.8%), Should stop taking dowry (14.7%) Should not torture mentally (11.6%). They were also inspired by the massage with awareness regarding women rights (6.9%), Live with harmony/should not give divorced (7.7%), beating women is wrong (4.6%), sharing of household work (2.7%). should not be involve in sexual abuse of women, eve-teasing.

It is significant that 82.6% of people in the Change Maker’s COI have reported holding discussions on the issue of VAW with others in their environment. This signifies that there is a third level of messaging and discussion taking place. Those include the members of their families like parents, brothers and sisters. There is not a large variation in the percentages. Female neighbours and mothers were the most common groups that COI members shared with but there is not a particular marked difference.

(Annex: Table No-2-8 reflected detailed on COI views on We Can, Change Maker, and relevance on VAW issues)

5.5.4 Personal changes experienced by the member of COI

Personal changes were explored through open-ended questions with members of Change makers’ COI. The most common themes of change emerging from the COI narrative data are:

All the people in the Change Maker’s Circle of Influence have expressed clear recollection of the Change Maker and discussions with him/her. (33.2%) COI mentioned violence against women and its
aspect, followed by (20.5%) dowry, and (20.1%) prevention of domestic violence and abuse of women. They also shared about gender discrimination, child marriage and appeal to come forward to prevent VAW. 96.91% of respondents in the COI have shared that they have undergone personal change due to their association with the Change Maker and/or the Campaign. This is a very significant proportion, again reiterating the fact that awareness and sensitivity to the issue of VAW has spread from Change Makers into their Circle of Influence to a significant extent.

**Key results**

Changes knowledge, perception and understanding:

- Member of COI successfully identified the forms of domestic violence including relevant examples from their own context. The perceptions in relation to forms of domestic violence, gender discrimination, women rights issues have been shifted from their previous ideas.
- A significant number of COI have mentioned that lack of understanding among the couple, male dominating behaviour and existing social norms leads to domestic violence. Some COI believes that religious values also inspired the male to suppress the female.
- The COI have linked the other social problems like poverty, dowry, early marriage, polygamy, lack of education, drug abuse especially alcoholism etc. with domestic violence.

**Change in action**

- The member of COI have taken initiatives to reduce domestic violence happened around them. Most of cases they spontaneously protest the physical violence if the situation occurred in front of them.
- The female member of COI have initiated discussion and dialogue with their husbands on domestic violence issues, among them the communication and leadership competencies have markedly increased.
- The male member of COI was able to reduce anger, taken initiatives to help wife in household work especially cloth washing, take care of children when she is preoccupied with other work like cooking.
- Member of COI has participated in the campaign events spontaneously.

The following voices/narratives provide an insight into Changes in knowledge, perception and understanding among member of COI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child marriage was a regular phenomenon in our area. Because of the Campaign all our friends become sensitised to the harmful effects of child marriage and started taking action to resist it. We have managed to change the perceptions of the guardians of children and have been able to create positive attitudes that work towards stopping child marriage.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---Male COI (38), teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My father used to torture my mother often. I was able to make my father understand that what he was doing was not just and fair and he should stop. He did. Other than that, I have been facilitating the process of stopping violence in my neighbours’ and relatives’ families. I am able to do so because I became a Change Maker in school and understand the dynamics of domestic violence and our duties as Change Makers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---Female COI (16), student</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now-a-days, I don’t get drunk, or gamble, and I behave properly with my wife. We share household work, eat together, and even enjoy films in cinema hall. I do all these things as I believe that it is unfair to behave wrongly with her. I also discuss about the issues of violence to others to make them sensitise and change their behaviours.

--Male COI (34), village doctor

The following voices/narratives provide an insight into Changes in action among member of COI. Please note that names of respondents have not reflected to protect their anonymity.

“Now I wash my clothes, and help my wife with cooking. I also share household work because I have understood that all work is equal, and contributing by performing one’s domestic responsibilities is everybody’s responsibility.”

-30 yea-old, COI, and husband of a Change Maker

I’m not afraid to go outside now, as I believe that women can do anything, same as men. I have been acquired this knowledge from the ‘We Can’ Campaign. My family members also understand that woman need to go out and that there is nothing wrong in doing work outside. My family is aware about women’s rights and don’t restrict my movements.

-Female COI (22), student

5.5.5 Insights about understanding of violence among the Change Maker’s COI

Comprehension of the concept of violence among those in the Change Maker’s COI was assessed by exploring:

- Perceptions on what VAW means and its relevance to people in the Change Maker’s COI.
- Their grasp of what a violence-free family is, and perceptions on such families in their neighbourhood.

The members of Change Maker’s COI mentioned scolding and abusing (41.3%), harassment over dowry (26.3%), marrying off daughter at very young age (13.1%), stopping daughters from going out (9.7%), ignoring opinion/forcing others opinion upon a woman (12%), not fulfil wives needs and emphasize on wives mistake (6.2%), no freedom of her own (6.9%). They also mentioned forceful sex (7.7%), disrespectful treatment in bus/train (14.7%), economic violence as means of violence against women (13.1%).

The members of Change Maker’s COI mentioned several characteristics of violence free family those include no fight/quarrel (72.6%), everyone’s voice is heard (38.6%); equally fulfil the demands of both sons and daughters (8.5%), all the members get adequate food all the time (1.9%), all the members should have love/sympathy and unity (9.7%), everyone behaves nicely with each other (10%). As these are practiced in violence free families the incident of child marriage (5.4%) and other violence are less (3.5%). The respondents have clear understanding about the nature and characteristics of violence free families.

5.5.6 Attitudes of member of COI towards gender roles and VAW

Attitudes to VAW among people in the Change Maker’s COI were assessed through two sets of questions.

The first set of questions consisted of 9 statements that spelt out specific behaviours. Against each of these, respondents were asked to indicate whether or not the behaviours were exhibited in a
violence-free family. The statements fell under three themes that reflected discrimination, women’s rights, and acceptance of violence. Insights from responses of the COI under each of these themes are discussed below.

Rights of women in a violence free family are very important to the member of COI. 100% of the Change Makers said that the family where a husband and wife take decisions together is a violence free family. 67.6% members of the COI perceived that the family where the wife is not allowed by the husband to go out of the village is not a violence free family. 67.6 % think that the family where the husband denies, to give money to the wife is not a violence free family. So it is found that the members of COI perceive collective decisions, freedom of movement and economic rights as they components of violence free family.

Most of the members of COI perceive gender discrimination free families as a violence free family. It is revealed in the analysis that 98.1% member of COI held the opinion that the family where all the children are sent to school is a violence free one and 99.6 % felt that having the same food irrespective of sex is perceived as a violence free family. 98.8% felt the family is a violence free one where all the members have space to express their opinion. 96.1% also mentioned families are violence free where the guardians did not arrange the marriage of a girl before the age of 18.

The families are violence free don’t accept domestic violence against women according to 86.1%. 93.4 % replied that the families where the mother-in-law is also involved in the abuse are not perceived as violence free.

**Analysis:** By analyzing the opinions of the members of Circle of Influence (COI) it is found that a significant number of COI has an understanding and clear perception on violence free family. It is also found that high percentage of the COI are able to present their correct position about the rights of women, gender discrimination and acceptance of violence in relation to violence free family.

**5.5.7 Attitudes of member of COI towards VAW and gender roles**

The second set of questions to assess COI attitudes to gender roles and VAW by eliciting their opinion on a set of 10 statements. The respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement on each statement. For the purposes of analysis, these statements were divided into four themes:

1) Acceptance of violence against women.
2) Acceptance of women speaking out and seeking community support.
3) Women rights
4) Sharing of household work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COI Perspective of acceptance of violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acceptance of violence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An occasional slap by the husband does not amount to domestic violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man is never justified in hitting his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should tolerate domestic violence as it is their responsibility to keep the family together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence in any form is unacceptable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table - 13: COI Perspective of acceptance of violence**
The members of COI disagreed with the first statement did so because they think: it is domestic violence, beating cannot solve everything, regular beating consider as violence. The members of the COI agreed with the first statement because they perceived that: she must have done something wrong, a husband can beat a wife sometimes to control her and as a joke may slap her.

Members of COI agreed with the second statement did so because they think: a man is never justified in hitting his wife because they perceived beating is never acceptable because it is domestic violence, torturing a wife is not a good habit for men, there is no right to torture his wife. The members of COI disagreed with the second statement because it is acceptable when a wife does something wrong so she should can understand and know the cause of her misdeed.

The members of COI disagreed with the third statement did so because they think: that it is responsibility of all the family members, women have rights, they should not tolerate violence, it is husband’s responsibility also. The members who agreed did so because they perceived that it is her family duty to tolerate violence, tolerating violence is a good quality in a woman.

Members of COI agreed with the fourth statement did so because they think: violence is a crime against humanity, violence against women in any form is unacceptable, it is unpleasant for society to torture and is the violation of rights. A few member of COI disagreed because they feel occasionally abuse is justified.

**Acceptance towards women speaking out against DV and seeking community support**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptance towards women speaking out against DV and seeking community support</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women should not talk about their experiences of domestic violence with anyone</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is the responsibility of the community to support the women who face violence</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table - 14: Acceptance towards women speaking out against DV and seeking community support*

The table above shows that those members of COI disagreed with the first statement did so because they think: those solutions might be found by talking to others, if it is not discussed with others torture will increase, it is not necessary to not keep quiet about VAW; to talk might mean other domestic violence might be stopped. The members of the COI agreed because they think they need to solve their own problems.

The table above shows that those members of COI agreed with the second statement did so because they think: due to the norms in community we should help each other, she will be isolated without any support, It is bad to see violence in society, if violence is not removed by the root it will spread in the community. The members of the COI disagreed because they feel it is responsibility of neighbours.
Attitudes of members of Circle of Influence towards Women's rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women's rights</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Some what agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denying money to your wife is a form of domestic violence</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A husband can demand sex from his wife whenever he wants</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men deserve more rights than women</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table - 15: Attitudes of members of Circle of Influence towards Women’s rights**

The table above shows that those members of COI agreed with the first statement did so because they think: that to deprive a wife of money is economic violence, women need money and it is her rights, wife needs money for many reasons even personal reasons, mental torture to wife and the peace of family will reduce if money is given when needed. The members of the COI disagreed because they think wives do not need additional money. Some of them reflected saying it is dependent on the economic situation: if he has money he should give, if not then he shouldn’t give money.

The table above shows that those members of COI disagreed with the second statement did so because they think: Women have likes and dislikes, torture means forcing someone to have sex, her opinion and consent is important/consent is required, no right to demand whenever he wishes, there is time & place for everything. Only few members of the COI agreed with the statement because they felt that if a wife denied her husband not he can get it from outside.

The table above shows that those members of COI disagreed with the third statement did so because they think: that both have equal rights, everyone should have equal rights, women should have more rights, and women are capable of doing anything. The member of COI for agreed did so because they feel men can earn money anyway so men need more rights, religion gives men more rights.

Attitudes of member of Circle of Influence towards sharing household work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sharing of work</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Some what agree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharing housework does not suit men</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table - 16: Attitudes of member of Circle of Influence towards sharing household work**

The table shows the member of COI disagreed to the statement as they perceived: that when men and women work together they are able to complete the HH work quickly, men need to help women in household work, If women can do HH work and an outside job men can too, the family/house belongs to both. Some COIs agreed because they feel it is the responsibility of women, men bring a wife home for hh work.

**Analysis:** It is our analysis that there are significant changes that have happened in the attitudes of COIs. The respondents in the COI were asked to express their opinions on a set of 10 statements related to the acceptance of violence against women, sensitivity to women’s rights, sharing of household work and women speaking out against DV and seeking community support. When we compare their agreement and disagreement rates against these statements we find that there is maximum positive consistency on the statements in the theme of acceptance of violence and on the statements related to women’s rights. However, consistency among the statements on the theme
women speaking out against DV and seeking community support is low. The notions of women’s equal status and their value in family and society is reflected in the kinds of reasons being offered by the COI. However, situations of greater ambiguity are where the COI seems to have divergent and contrary views to those expressed under women’s rights. Change in these situations would require far greater awareness and reflection.

**Comparison of attitudes held by Change Makers and their COI on VAW and gender roles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Change maker</th>
<th>Member of COI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharing housework does not suit men</td>
<td>91.3% Strongly disagree</td>
<td>83.0% Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband can demand sex from wife whenever he wants</td>
<td>87.0% Strongly disagree</td>
<td>78.4% Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An occasional slap by the husband does not amount to domestic violence</td>
<td>84.3% Strongly disagree</td>
<td>76.8% Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is the responsibility of the community to support the women who face violence</td>
<td>83.5% Strongly agree</td>
<td>86.5% Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should tolerate domestic violence as it is their responsibility to keep the family together</td>
<td>84.3% Strongly disagree</td>
<td>72.6% Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence in any form is unacceptable</td>
<td>80.9% Strongly agree</td>
<td>81.5% Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should not talk about their experiences of domestic violence with anyone</td>
<td>78.3% Strongly disagree</td>
<td>60.6% Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men deserve more rights than women</td>
<td>73.0% Strongly disagree</td>
<td>65.3% Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man is never justified in hitting his wife</td>
<td>71.3% Strongly agree</td>
<td>78.8% Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denying money to your wife is a form of domestic violence</td>
<td>71.3% Strongly agree</td>
<td>69.1% Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table - 17: Comparison of attitudes of Change Makers and their COI on VAW and gender roles*

When comparing the attitudes of Change Makers and COI, it is found that there are significant similarities in beliefs and attitudes regarding VAW and gender roles. The statement that notched up the highest percentage of enlightened responses from Change Makers is the one where they strongly disagree that involvement in household work doesn’t suit men (91.3%). The lowest ‘best’ response is on the statement that denying money to your wife is a form of domestic violence, with 71.3% respondents agreeing with it. In the rest of the statements, Change Makers either agree or disagree between 87%- 78.3%. The COI have given almost similar responses. The highest percentage (86.5%) is in agreement with the statement that it is the responsibility of society to support the women who face violence. The lowest percentage was notched up by the statement that women should not discuss their experiences of domestic violence with others. 60.6% COI strongly disagreed with the view. Responses to other statements fell between 83%- 69.1%, with COI either agreeing or disagreeing.

The analysis revealed that both Change Makers and COI have expressed a positive stand on sharing of household work. The magnitude of sensitisation is high among Change Makers and COI regarding sexual harassment and sexual rights. Other than these, it is also noteworthy that the COI expressed more positive attitudes around non-acceptance of violence and societal responsibility to help women who face violence. Thus, it can be said that there progressive changes are taking place in Change Makers’ COI. This reflects the social expansion of the Campaign.
5.5.8 Collective attitudinal shift: contexts of the four sites

In order to arrive at whether or not collective attitudinal shift is taking place, the assessment examined the following:

- Changes taking place in the COI respondent group.
- Attitudinal changes of COI culled from the attitudes questionnaire.
- Information from all FGDs.
- Information from all interviews of Change Makers and COI.

It is to be noted that collective attitudinal shift; the varied contexts of the four sites were kept in mind. Below, we identify the issues, themes and contexts of collective attitudinal changes as represented in the four-selected assessment areas. Change Makers and their COI in four-selected areas are experiencing the following changes as a whole.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sahapara Union, Gaibandha District</th>
<th>Kamarjani Union, Gaibandha District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Acceptance and assessment of the opinions of women in families</td>
<td>• Don’t practice domestic violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Domestic violence either stopped or reduced</td>
<td>• Social resistance against violence against women exists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Protest any kind of violence and take initiatives to resist those</td>
<td>• Everyone is working to stop eve-teasing that is a social problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Males are taking part in household works as part of their duties</td>
<td>• Males are behaving respectfully with women and initiate process for family relation development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Scope of education for women enhanced</td>
<td>• Social awareness and collective efforts are forming to resist child marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Social awareness and collective efforts are forming to resist child marriage</td>
<td>• Opportunities are open and women are taking part in IGA activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward#2, Mymensingh town</th>
<th>Akua Union, Mymensingh District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Awareness level increased about violence against women</td>
<td>• Scope of education for girls and rate increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Dynamic efforts have been made to resist domestic violence and that efforts are also multi-dimensional</td>
<td>• Reduce trend in eve-teasing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Context is prepared to practice equal rights</td>
<td>• Women are involved in income generating activities going out of house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Everyone is working to stop eve-teasing that is a social problem</td>
<td>• Mobility of women increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Freedom of movement for women are now accepted at family level</td>
<td>• Social awareness and collective efforts are forming to resist child marriage and dowry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Male are taking part in household works</td>
<td>• Domestic violence and conjugal problems reduced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By analyzing the narratives and experiences of respondent Change Makers and COI, we find the emergence of four common themes that summarize and capture collective attitudinal shift.

1. **Change in the members of a system snowball the process of change in other systems**
   In the assessment found that the maximum changes in Change Makers and their COI are reflected that have taken place primarily in the family. It is noted that female Change Makers were particularly able to change the mindset in the entire family, and were successful in rooting out domestic violence and gender inequity at home. Young Change Makers, on the other hand, have been able to alter the behaviour of their fathers (i.e., the perpetrators of domestic violence). They have also been able to influence their mothers and stopped them from discriminating between sons and daughters.

2. **Attitudinal change in different persons within a system seeds change in that system**
   The assessment unearthed evidence of peaceful relationships among family members when husbands and a woman’s in-laws refrain from domestic violence. In turn, male children (both married and unmarried) learn the virtues of non-violence, and propagate this in their own homes. Likewise, change in a friend effects changes within the friends’ circle. This change is manifest in sexual harassment behaviours such as eye-teasing. The incidence of stalking and persecution of girls and women by male youths is on the decline when one youth changes, he ensures that his peer group emulate this change. Each one then becomes an ambassador of change, as he fights harassment around him. Among female friends, Change Makers are playing the role of sensitising their peer group to gender inequity, and the equal rights of women including educational rights and the right to self-reliance. Besides, they are collectively resisting a variety of gender-based violence that they come across.

3. **The change in one system facilitates change in another system**
   The assessment highlights that the winds of change sweep across from families to their neighbours. The families of Change Makers or the COI have all stated that ever since domestic violence dipped, family peace soared. Seeing this positive change, the neighbours also become attracted to the prevention of violence, and were proactive in their efforts to mitigate violence in their own homes. They hold true for the notions regarding gender equity in terms of education and food distribution. The emulation of desirable behaviours served to spread ‘We Can’ tenets across the communities.

4. **Change in different systems leads to community-wide change**
   It has emerged that awareness about the damaging effects of child marriage, polygamy, and dowry in different systems such as the family, neighbours, relatives and friends, has resulted in the significant reduction of such practices. In the four assessment areas, it was found that the education of girls and the participation of men in domestic work have increased on the one hand, while violence against women, eye-teasing and sexual abuse, has decreased, on the other hand. Socially condoned practices such as dorra and hilla marriages have also reduced in number, as they now do not enjoy community sanction. This has served to institutionalize change.
Chapter 6
REACHING THE TIPPING POINT

In this chapter, we explore how the two processes of deepening of change and collective attitudinal shift are leading to a “tipping point” in society. As it has been mentioned earlier, a tipping point is reached when what is recessive gradually becomes dominant. In the context of the Campaign, the tipping point is assumed to be reached when widespread acceptance of VAW is replaced by its non-tolerance. In explaining this phenomenon, influencing factors cannot be isolated; rather, each factor pressures the other until what has changed becomes the norm.

Change Makers, their COI, as well as other community members of the four assessment sites have consistently spoken about five key changes that have resulted from the ‘We Can’ Campaign. We discuss these below.

**Figure 16: Reaching The Tipping Point**

**6.1 ESCALATION IN WOMEN’S EDUCATION**

In the four sites, it was found that women possess less social, political and economic power (including less wealth and/or property) than their male counterparts. In most families, girls were allowed limited access to education, and higher education for them was a deviation from the norm. As per the prevalent social mores, a woman’s place is centred on the home, which naturally precluded education. Women were thus deprived of real and functional education. But gradually, the situation has changed. The quantitative data show that 99.1% Change Makers, and 97.7% of COI are of the opinion that all children, irrespective of sex, are sent to school. The necessity for education has won widespread acceptance, and the arguments for this include: educated women can influence change in the next generation, and education empowers women to claim their rights and become economically self-sufficient. Education was viewed as one of the most powerful tools to stop discrimination and violence.

The COI who participated in the FGDs all mentioned how vital the education of girls was in ensuring their economic dignity.
6.2 EVIDENCE OF COLLECTIVE EFFORTS IN RESISTING CHILD MARRIAGE

Change Makers, connector Change Makers, and COI play the role of carriers in resisting underage marriage. Both sets of respondents are clear that child marriage is a social problem. In this case, these carriers bear the features of the connector (those who have a huge network of people), mavens (subject matter experts who gather a huge amount of information on any issue) and salespersons (people who are skilled at convincing and motivating others). Over and above, many others—teachers, students, guardians, marriage registrar, and elected representatives—also act as carriers.

In the rural village sites, most of the married Change Makers had been married at a very young age. In turn, they were forced into getting their own underage daughters married off. Their experiential learning of the negative effects of child marriage acted as the spur that made them join the Campaign, identified with the issues, and were keen to save other young girls from the same fate. Some of the Campaign materials that helped build momentum around this issue were the worksheets and flip chart.

Thanks to the relentless interventions of the ‘connectors’, ‘carriers’, ‘mavens’ and ‘salespersons’, the numbers of those committed to fighting against child marriage has grown. This, in turn, has now established the issue in personal, family and social lives, changing the mindsets of the community. The bottomline is that not only are people refraining from arranging child marriages, but they are also resisting instances of non-compliance in their surroundings.

The FGD participants across all sites confirmed that all of them have come forward to prevent child marriage in their area. As a consequence, the rate of child marriage has reduced significantly.

We arranged several meetings with parents to raise awareness among them about child marriage and the importance of education, asking them not to ruin the lives of their own children. On account of those initiatives and meetings, there are strong opinions against child marriage. Since we began our work on this issue, not a single child marriage has taken place from our schoolgirls. The rate of child marriage in our surrounding area has also decreased significantly.

-- Male Change Maker (27), school teacher

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See Chapter 1 for more on Gladwell’s tipping point principles that elucidates on carriers.
As I now have a clear understanding of the issue, I was able to prevent my cousin’s and my child marriage. If we hear about a child marriage being fixed, we visit the person’s home and try to make them understand the causes and consequences of child marriage. This is how we have been to prevent child marriages in our area. In our village, many people now refrain from arranging such marriages for their children. They also acknowledge the fact that this act can ruin the life of their daughter.

--Female Change Maker (17), student, unmarried

I extend help if I find anyone experiencing violence. I got married at an early age. I know the pain of child marriage from my experiences and also understand it as violence and injustice through the messages of Campaign.

--Female COI (27), literate homemaker

6.3 INCREASED PARTICIPATION OF MALES IN HOUSEHOLD WORK

In Bangladesh, the life cycle of men and women are different in terms of roles, rights, and social attitudes. Traditionally, men are in charge of all economically productive activities and women are relegated to domestic responsibilities. A woman is expected to handle all household-related tasks like housekeeping, rearing children, and taking care of her husband and other family members.

‘We Can’ has changed this equation in a variety of ways, noticeably in male Change Makers’ participation in household work. The Campaign transformed their mindsets sufficiently that male Change Makers began actioning on this altered perception. The initial societal reaction to their involvement with domestic chores met with derision. The community was not ready to accept this change. Gradually, over time, as Change Makers led the way and spread Campaign messaging to their COI, the latter, in turn, altered their behaviours. This outward spread of communication on gender equity served to bring into its ambit others as well.

The information gleaned from the FGDs support the above statements. Both male and female COI state that there is no gender divide in household work. They understand the concept of dignity of work. They also acknowledge that family bonds are getting stronger in homes where everyone pitches in with household work. Women COI stated that men are helping at home, and male COI confirm that they are indeed “participating” in domestic chores.

Analysis: The initial derision faced by male Change Makers who helped in household work lead to some doubts and indecision in their minds. However, they persevered because they saw it as their duty. It is interesting to note that they use the word “participate” rather than “helping” in domestic work. It is also apparent that Change Makers have been able to effect changes in attitudes and behaviours of many people in their areas by role modelling desirable behaviour.
After becoming a Change Maker, my attitudes and behaviours underwent many changes. I now know that as part of my duty to my wife and family, I should help at home. I cook, wash clothes, and do other domestic work so that the burden on my wife eases. It is my responsibility to do so.

-- Male Change Maker (57), graduate, businessman

I joined the Campaign and understood from the discussions and messages that there was no difference between women and men in terms of work. Each person has the same rights and entitlements. I shared and discussed this information with my husband, and we help each other.

-- Female Change Maker (24), graduate, in service

My wife is a Change Maker. From her, I have understood that no work is small or big, so I pitch in with household work. I perceive it as my duty.

-- Male COI (30), graduate, teacher

My husband has realized that there is no shame in doing housework. Now, he helps me a lot.

-- Female COI (40), SSC, homemaker

6.4 MULTI-DIMENSIONAL EFFORTS TO STOP SEXUAL HARASSMENT

By and large, Bangladesh is a patriarchal society. Particularly in the assessment areas, men (especially young men) held negative perceptions about women, who were seen as commodities. It was almost de rigueur for them to show disrespect to women, and to tease them. The rampant harassment (from villages to towns and cities) severely hampered the mobility and daily lives of girls and women.

This was also a reason to pull girls out of school, as the streets were unsafe for them. In the recent past, when the issue of VAW came to the limelight in Bangladesh, this was a concern that resonated with young Change Makers, who altered their behaviour by stopping sexual harassment. They also worked hard at sensitising their peers on the disrespect shown to the female sex by treating them as sex objects. Their efforts paid off: a significant number of their COI now refrain from such behaviour.

Information from the FGDs depicts that most of the people in the assessment sites now understand that eve-teasing is a form of violence and that this should be prevented. In many places, students have come together in school committees to resist eve-teasing. The magnitude of sexual harassment has reduced considerably, and it appears that this is going to turn into a social movement.

The Campaign brought big changes in my thinking process and now I don’t get bad thoughts when I observe women. I don’t eve-tease them, but respect them as human beings. I had the perception that women were “usable products” but I understand my perception was wrong. I think of them as an integral part of society now and that they are capable of performing like man. I and my friends don’t eve-tease any more. We need to work harder to uproot eve-teasing from society.

-- Male Change Maker (21), student
6.5 EMERGENCE OF FEMALE LEADERSHIP

Overall, the findings suggest zooming confidence and leadership levels of female Change Makers after joining the Campaign. Women, who hitherto were shy to even speak within the family, are now taking a public stand against VAW, involving neighbours in the Campaign and arranging discussions all on their own.

Information gathered from the FGDs support the above statements. In Akua union, for example, women are now aware about domestic violence and the rights of women and have gained confidence and courage to earn. Besides this, they are also involved in making people aware of, and preventing, violence.

In ‘We Can’, I found a platform to continue the movement to reduce VAW. I have received threats that I would be ostracised by the community. But I have persevered. I write about the issue in newspapers. Being part of this movement, I arrange discussions, debates for the girl students of my school and am trying to integrate them with the Campaign. I have made my students aware of the rights of women and show them the way of self reliance. I also stand by women of the village in their time of need.

--Female Change Maker (31), teacher

I live alone with my boy child and was facing severe economic hardship. Sometimes, I felt a sense of hopelessness and had no idea what to do. One of the Change Makers in my locality asked me to take sewing training for self-reliance. She also shared with me that women are not helpless, they can earn if they are courageous and industrious. Then I started my new life and am now earning well to meet the expenses of my family. Many women have been influenced by us and are trying to earn.

--Female COI (33), SSC, widow

Analysis: In Bangladesh, through the analysis of deepening of change and collective behaviour change, certain signification changes have taken place, such as: increase of female education, collective efforts to prevent child marriage, spontaneous participation of males in household work, multidimensional initiatives to prevent sexual harassment, and emergence of leadership (both female and male). In our research areas, it is evident that the process of changing conventional family and societal norms and practices has taken wing. Change Makers, their COI, and others are becoming aware citizens who recognize VAW as a deep societal concern. A huge number of people are involved in the process and are collectively taking initiative towards positive change.
CONCLUSION

The ‘We Can’ Campaign was initiated in Bangladesh 6 years ago with the objective of breaking the silence around violence against women and to reduce the social acceptance of Gender based violence.

The features below capture some of the highlights of the assessment:

1. The study revealed that in Bangladesh, all Change Makers have re-engaged with the Campaign. Though many of them were not engaged through the activities of Phase-II, they were re-engaged through the various issues of the Campaign.

2. The success of the Campaign is manifest in that 9 out of 10 Change Makers exhibited deepening of change.

3. For a large majority of Change Makers, re-engagement was a function of their deep sense of identity with the issues of the Campaign, which resonated with their life experiences. Many Change Makers engaged with the Campaign due to their personal histories of violence in the family, or from observing it first-hand in the lives of those close to them. They also engaged with the vision of freedom for women from genderbased abuse.

4. In Phase-II, courtyard meetings were demonstrably the most effective communication means of the ‘1000 initiatives’ re-engagement programme. These meetings proved especially valuable in attracting women who might otherwise not have been able to travel out of their areas to attend meetings. Additionally, gatherings in courtyards across villages were a boon in remote areas where the lack of transportation would have been a hindrance to attendance. These spaces proved to be fertile ground for information sharing and decision-making on prevention of domestic violence.

5. The mobile vans attracted crowds wherever they went. However, it was found that optimal use of this outreach strategy was hampered by the fact that Change Makers had not planned these as meticulously as required. It is needed to take more effective strategies to distribute and make proper use of the newsletter Mukhomukhi.

6. The multi dimensional aspect of arranging the events of Campaign and include the local traditional things in events attracted the Change Makers to be re-engaged and on the other hand able to reach the community people to provide them information. These events have created long lasting impact among the Change Makers, members of Circle of Influence and community people.

7. Campaign materials were perceived as very effective in influencing others to join the fight against VAW. The materials that were particularly impactful included: messages, pictures and flipcharts.

8. Though the difference is not significant, but the deepening of change has taken place in more women than men. The main reason for this is probably the context of women and their struggles. ‘We Can’ was able to create a dignified identity for women, and their stake in working towards realising this goal is higher than that of men.
9. Though the deepening changes was found in each of the assessment areas, it was found that the magnitude of deepening change is more significant in the “old” sites as against the “new” sites.

10. It was found that all three categories of Change Makers evidenced sensitisation of ‘We Can’ messaging. Those in the significant deepening of change grouping are also actively actioning change within their homes and in the larger community. Those in the some deepening of changes category are working to effect change, but to a nominal degree.

11. It has been observed that there is a palpable reduction of VAW in the research areas. Large numbers of people in communities are uniting under the Campaign to protest against—and prevent—gender-related abuse. When women raised their voice against violence, it was found that men’s attitudes and behaviours changed, in response. It is also apparent that children are challenging the violent acts of their parents. Thus, the magnitude of VAW is on a downswing and a more humane and just society is on an upswing.

12. Awareness among Change Makers’ Circle of Influence about the overarching issue of gender equity is also evident, though some (especially male COI) are not entirely convinced by ‘We Can’ messaging.

13. Sexual violence, previously regarded as a taboo topic, has come out in the open. People have become aware that demanding sexual intercourse without the consent of one’s wife is abuse. Female Change Makers who fall in the significant deepening of change category have been successful in reducing and/or stopping such violence at the hands of their husbands.

14. Most of the male Change Makers shared that they are “participating” (and not “helping”) in household work on a regular basis. The conventional concept about division of labour has been updated, and male Change Makers not only accept these changes within themselves, but are also happy to view it as their “duty” and “responsibility”. Tied to this is the fact that they appreciate that women have the right to seek economic independence and the numbers of women who are seeking jobs outside of home is on the rise.

15. The other visible change is that women are now being welcomed in the decision-making process, especially at the level of the family. Male Change Makers are taking the opinion of their spouses, and are finding that this has bettered their relationship.

16. Change Makers have been able to influence the different systems that surround VAW. A significant number of Change Makers are performing the role of connectors, mavens and salespersons. In the process of initiating change, most Change Makers take on the role of more than one player.

17. The family “system” is one of the most important social structures in Bangladesh. Change of one person in the system permeates to others in the system. It is evident from the findings that the change has spread mostly within the family system. For example, women’s protest against domestic violence saw the behaviour change in the men in their family who stopped/reduced abusing women. Children in the family are also remonstrating against such violence, with the result that the whole system is getting sensitisation.
18. Change in one system is also facilitating change in other systems. These changes spread from the family to relatives and then to neighbours, as wave.

19. The changes in different systems have impacted attitudinal and behavioural change in the larger community. The levels of awareness on various areas of concern (child marriage, polygamy, dowry) have increased in systems (family, relatives, friends). The rate of female education, and participation of male in household work has increased, and the rate of eve-teasing and sexual abuse, has deceased.

20. Schools, civil society, the government, and other institutions are playing a vital role in the institutionalization the process of the Campaign.

21. There is a strong network and unity among Change Makers, members of their COI, as also others who are involved in the process of change. These robust bonds work effectively in overcoming constraints.
ANNEX

SIGNIFICANT ASSESSMENT TOOLS

Annex- 1.1

WORKSHOP SESSION I: INTRODUCTION

Time allotted: forty five minutes

The facilitator begins the workshop by welcoming all the Change Makers and thanking them for having taken the time to attend the workshop. He/she then asks all the participants to introduce themselves. Each person is asked to state their name, where they are from and think about what they think is going to be discussed in this workshop. The participants should be given time to respond.

The facilitator waits for everyone to share. He/she should try to see if some of the expectations expressed by the Change Makers can be related to the workshop objectives. He/she should share that while this is not a ‘training’ programme or anything like the WECAN programmes the Change Makers might have attended earlier, it will help everyone to reflect back about their experiences of working on the issue of VAW. The facilitator then says:

“We are holding a meeting for those who have been associated with the WECAN campaign and are working to reduce violence against women. We want to learn more about how you have gotten involved in this work and your experiences. We will use this information to understand whether the WECAN campaign has made a difference in your communities and if yes, in what way?”

“We would like to ask some questions have developed some questions and exercises for this workshop. We hope you will interact with us and participate in the exercises. Your honest sharing will help us a great deal in measuring the success of the campaign. We will begin with a small introductory game that will enable us to get to know each other a little better. Shall we begin?”

The facilitator asks each participant to think of three statements about themselves, one of which is true and one is false. Each participant will share these two statements and the rest of the group has to guess which of the two statements is true and which one is false. The facilitator should ensure that the Change Makers participate more during this session and the interviewers and note takers. Use this session to make the Change Makers share and generate some dialogue/discussion based on what they are sharing.

Once this exercise has been completed, the facilitator should explain that next session will involve in-depth discussions on how you have got involved in the work on VAW and the campaign. This would be done individually and not as a group. Each Change Maker will be interviewed by an interviewer and a recorder will maintain notes on what the Change Maker shares. The facilitator should check if there are any questions from the Change Makers.

After addressing any doubts/clarifications the Change Makers may raise, the facilitator should divide the team into triads (one Change Maker, an interviewer and a note taker).

They should be allotted a space to sit and talk separately.
Annex- 1.2

WORKSHOP SESSION II: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW WITH CHANGE MAKERS

Introduction:
Hello/Namaste/Asalam-u-Alaikum /Vanakkam/ appropriate greeting. My name is _____________ and this is my colleague _______________. As you know, we are trying to talk with people who have been associated with the WECAN campaign. We would like to talk with you to know more about what you think about this issue and about your experiences in addressing VAW. I would like to ask you questions related to how you became involved with this issue and your experiences. I have with me a set of questions related to all these topics. Along with these topics it would be very useful for me to know more about you in general, as this would help me to understand how and why you became involved in the campaign and the work on VAW. All this information will help us to understand what people feel/think about the campaign and the issue.

I would like to let you know that you can refuse to answer any question that you don’t want and also stop the interview any time if you don’t wish to talk. This entire discussion will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will be shared only within the research team and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Shall we begin?

FACE SHEET

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>What is your name?</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Where are you from?</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>What is your age?</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>What is your marital status?</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>What are your educational qualifications?</td>
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</table>

1. GS Division/Village________
   Union/GN division/Block________
   District____________

2. Female_______1
   Male_______2

3. Unmarried/never married _________1
   Married_________2
   Divorced/seperated_________3
   Widow/widower_______4
   Deserted___________5
   Other(specify)_________6

4. Cannot read and write_________1
   Can only sign________________2
   Class I- V _____________3
   Class VI – IX _____________4
   Matriculation (class X)_________5
   G.C.E O/L_______________6
   Intermediate (class XII)_________7
   G.C.E A/L___________8
7. What is your occupation?

- Farming on own land__________1
- Agricultural labour____________2
- Non agricultural labour________3
- Government service____________4
- Private service__________5
- NGO sector_________________6
- Small business owner/Self employed_________7
- Student__________________8
- (if only 7 then go to question 10)
- Lawyer__________________9
- Teacher__________________10
- Lady Health Worker LHW/LHV_______11
- Housewife__________________12
- Home based worker____________13
- Other (specify)_____________14

8. How would you describe your work?

- Irregular/Seasonal________1
- Regular________2
- Other (specify)________3
- Not applicable________99

9. How would you describe your wages?

- Daily________1
- Weekly____________2
- Fortnightly________3
- Monthly________4
- Seasonal________5
- Other (specify)_____________6
- Not applicable________99

10. Can you tell me a little about your family? Who all is part of your family?

| Relationship to respondent | Age (in completed yrs) | Sex F - 1 M -2 | Marital status Never Married......1 Un Married............2 Separated/divorced...3 Widow/Widower......4 Deserted......5 Others (specify)......6 Un Married............2 Separated/divorced...3 Widow/Widower......4 Deserted......5 Education/Can't read or write......1 Can sign only......2 Class 1- 4...3 Class 5-9....4 Matriculation....5 G.C.E O/L.....6 Intermediate....7 G.C.E A/L.....8 Graduate......9 Post graduate10 Occupation Farming on own land......1 Agricultural labour......2 Non agricultural labour....3 Government service......4 Private service......5 NGO sector......6 Small business /Self employed_7 Student__________8 Lawyer__________9 |
In-depth interview guidelines

I. Family history: You have told me about who is in your family and your family members. I would also like to know more about the kind of relationship you have with your family members. Can you tell me about this? Let Change Maker talk.

Explore:
A. Quality of relationship with each family member
   - Level of understanding with each of them. Probe how well she/he gets along with each family member; areas of common interest
   - Family member with whom the CM has the closest relationship/who the CM feels understands her/him the most
   - Situations around which there are conflicts within the family? (Be sure to probe who all get involved and how do conflicts get dealt with)
   - Qualities about the family the Change Maker has always appreciated from before (even before he/she became a Change Maker)/something they are proud of as a family and he/she is proud of as an individual
   - Was there anything that she or he used to wish would be different about their family in the past?
   - Is there anything that she or he wishes could be different about the family now?

II. Neighbourhood: In case the respondent is a student and lives in a hostel, follow questions in II A. In case the respondent is from the general community, follow questions in II B.

II A. Can you tell me about life in the hostel?
1. How long have you been staying in the hostel?

2. Explore:
   - Friendships in the hostel; extent of support offered by the students to each other; any unpleasant issues in the hostel; probe around harassment by older boys/girls; instances of sexual harassment.
   - People the Change Maker turns to in the hostel, in times of need.

II B. Can we now talk a little more about your neighbourhood and surroundings? In case the respondent is not a student: 1. How long have you been living here?

2. Explore:
   - Extent of support offered by the neighbourhood to one another; degree of closeness among families/people in the neighbourhood; frequency and situations in which they meet and interact.
- Who in the neighbourhood does the Change Maker turn to in times of need?

III. Thank you for sharing so much about your family and neighbourhood/hostel. Can we now move on to talking more about your life? I would like to know more about the various stages of your life. I hope you are fine with this. Shall we begin?

**IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEWER**

Now you are beginning the section on the Change Maker’s life history. Please note that this section requires you to probe the Change Maker’s life in stages. For younger Change Makers (approximately 25 years and below) it would be For Change Makers who are older the length of each stage could be more. You will have to keep this in mind while interviewing and defining each stage. For married Change Maker’s, these stages would be from adolescence up to marriage; the first few (4-5) years after marriage and the period since then till now. These are indicative time periods. It is possible that within the group of married Change Makers there are variations- some who have married recently or some who have been married for 3-4 years only. In such situations, dividing the time period into three parts may not be possible and only two time periods maybe possible, that is adolescence up to marriage and marriage to now. For unmarried Change Maker’s, the time periods to investigate would be adolescence; few years after adolescence and the period between then up to now. These are indicative time periods. It is possible that within this group there are variations- there maybe Change Makers who are still in the adolescent years or are young adults, in which case dividing the time period may have to be in two parts, that is 11-18 and from 18 till now or 11-15 and from 15 till now.

**STAGE I**

For Change Makers who are married, interviewer should ask, “If we were to start back with say when you were in your adolescence (jab aap kishori/kishor the), and before you got married, what are your recollections about this period? Please take time to think and respond.” Give the respondent time to think.

For the Change Maker’s who are not married, interviewer should ask, “If we were to start back with say when you were in your early adolescence/adolescence (11-15 or 11-18 respectively as the case might be), what are your recollections about this period? Please take time to think and respond.” Give the respondent time to think. The interviewer can even leave the respondent alone for a while.

Explore:
A. Important/significant moments and events during these years (within the family and outside); events that have left an emotional impact- positive and negative. In this context probe very gently about any physical/sexual abuse the Change Maker might have experienced within the family or outside. You could use the following lines as a way of opening a discussion on this subject: “Many times one hears about abuse of young people, especially adolescent girls and boys. This can include a range of behaviours such as beating, hitting or sometimes making sexual advances and even forcing sex on the young person. Has anything like this ever happened with you that you might want to talk about?” (This is a very sensitive issue. So if CM does not want to share about this issue do not push for a response. Do not probe beyond this point if the Change Maker does not want to talk about it. But the note taker should make a note of this on the side of the note taking sheet).

B. How did this make the Change Maker feel, what she/he did about it?

C. Aspirations about the future; what the CM wanted to do/become
STAGE II
If we move ahead by a few years, what can you recollect about this period?

Cues - What was your life like? Are there any events or happenings that stand out in your memory as being important in your life? Both pleasant and unpleasant. Explore this in detail- what happened; how did the Change Maker feel about the situation; how did she/he deal with it? What was the family situation like at this time? Friendships in the community; probe around people who may have had a deep impact on the Change Maker; events that shaped her/his future.

- If the CM mentions marriage during this period probe around:
  - How was the marriage fixed- arranged/love/
  - Whether husband known to Change Maker/within the family/outside etc.
  - Say in choice of partner
  - Expectations from marriage
  - Relationship with partner, initial years (birth of children, living with spouse/family interactions)

Cues- what was the relationship like in the first few years after marriage- happy memories; situations of conflict; how the conflict was resolved. With female respondents, probe very carefully about any episodes of violence by husband. You could use the following script to open the discussion:

“Many times there are situations of conflict in marriage. Sometimes men resort to behaviour such as beating and hitting their wives during conflicts. Has anything like this ever happened with you?”

Interviewer should check about:
  - When this behaviour started
  - How frequent is this behaviour
  - Other forms of psychological abuse such as scolding, humiliation etc.
  - How the respondent coped with such incidents when they occurred initially
  - Is it continuing or has it stopped?

STAGE III:
If we now look at the period between the time we just discussed up to now, what have been some of the things that stand out as being important/significant for you?

Probe - What were these events/ happenings/experiences
  - Focus on how these events/happenings made the Change Maker feel

In this entire discussion if the respondent talks about having become a Change Maker or becoming associated with WECAN, be sure to probe further using the following guide:

  - When exactly did the respondent become a Change Maker? How old was she/he; in which year did he/she become a Change Maker?
  - How did she/he become a Change Maker? Through an event or another Change Maker? Probe the process- What did he/she understand about the role of a Change Maker? Did he/she sign a form? Take an oath?
Situation 1: If Change Maker says she/he became a Change Maker after attending an event check which event, where was it held and when; what was discussed at this event; what did the Change Maker learn from this event/interaction? Did she/he get any material, if yes, what was it? After this event has she/he been part of any discussions on this issue or attended any other subsequent such events- probe for subsequent events or programmes in the same way. Capture details of all VAW programmes attended- what was the programme about; what was discussed; Has he/she received the newsletter? Or attended any mobile van activity? If yes, ask for details. Where was the activity held and what all happened?

Situation 2: If the Change Maker has become a Change Maker through another Change Maker, ask what was he/she was told; what material did she/he see and/or get; did she/he sign the Change Maker form; has she/he attended any event on VAW after becoming a Change Maker; where and when; what happened at this programme and what did he/she learn? If the person has attended more than one such programme on VAW explore about each of them. What all happened and what was discussed? Has he/she received the newsletter or attended the mobile van activity? If yes, as her for details. Where was the activity and what all happened?

- What motivated him/her to become a Change Maker? Probe in detail using the Change maker’s responses to build more questions, for example, if the Change Maker says, “I liked what was said in the WECAN event, so I became a Change Maker” probe, “what was said? What did you like about what was said?” or “we keep reading about these issues or seeing such incidents around us, why then did you feel the need to become a Change Maker after attending the event?” Other probe questions could be what did the person expect he/she would get as a result of becoming a Change Maker?

- Once the motivation for becoming a Change Maker has been discussed thoroughly, the interviewer should say, “Thank you for sharing all this. We are grateful to you. We would further like to talk to you about how you have felt after becoming a Change Maker. But we will first have a cup of tea/break for lunch.

- It is best to take a break here and allow the Change Maker to take some rest. In the next session, the interviewer should move on to talking about the changes this action has lead to. This should be covered through session IV, the social mapping exercise.

Annex- 1.3

WORKSHOP SESSION IV: SOCIAL INFLUENCE MAPPING EXERCISE WITH CHANGE MAKER

SOCIAL INFLUENCE MAP Influence diagram is a tool that allows you to explore the factors and directions of influence on a given situation. In this case, it will be used to explore:

1. What is the personal change the Change Maker has experienced since he/she joined WE CAN?
2. What kind of collective attitudinal shift is taking place among various actors and systems within the Change Maker’s circle of influence?
3. What factor is/factors are responsible for changes among actors and systems in the Change Maker’s circle of influence?
4. How is the change in one system influencing and/or changing another system?

The social influence mapping exercise should begin with an exploration of personal changes at the level of the CM. That is the changes they have gone through. Two important pointers here are:

1. Please try to keep the focus on the Change Maker at this point.
2. Stories of change have to be backed by specific examples and instances. Even if the Change Maker talks of a change in perception/opinions, ask for example.

The interviewer should begin the exercise by first saying, “Thank you for answering all the questions so far. You have spoken to me at length about what motivated you to become a Change Maker. I would like to know a little more about what has happened after you became a Change Maker. Q1. What do you think is the personal change you have experienced since you joined WE CAN?”

Probes-
- Change in terms of actions/behaviours related to the Change Makers own life. Probe in detail about changes in the Change Maker’s own behaviour. When did this change occur (soon after the person became a Change Maker or is this recent?); what exactly was the change? What did this action make the Change Maker feel? What are the challenges/difficulties the Change Maker faced in making this change/these changes? What did the person do to overcome the difficulty?
- Change in terms of personal beliefs and perceptions. Any examples that might help us to understand the changed perception?
- Instances where the Change Maker has intervened in someone else’s life and made a difference (be sure to cover every instance of intervention by the Change Maker). Cover each instance in detail- when did this happen; what was the exact situation; what made the Change Maker intervene in this situation; who all were involved; what the Change Maker did. Here be sure to ask in detail about how the Change maker changed the situation (if that happened); what all did he/she say to convince the persons concerned to change, how many such interactions were needed, did the change happen immediately or did it take time? In either case, what caused the change? What was the resistance offered by the other side and how was it overcome. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THE PROCESS WHEREBY THE CHANGE MAKER MADE A DIFFERENCE TO THE SITUATION. UNCOVERING HOW EXACTLY THE CHANGE MAKER SHIFTED THE SITUATION, WHAT ALL HAPPENED IS VERY IMPORTANT.

Q2. Refer back to the question on WECAN events and check to see all the different ways in which the Change maker has reconnected with the issue after the first time she/he was introduced to VAW (e.g. through the mobile van, newsletter, any other subsequent programmes etc.). Explore what the Change Maker feels about these various methods of reconnecting the Change Maker with the issue and whether this has led to more personal changes.

You can use the following probes:
Q2A. If the Change Maker has attended the mobile van, ask:
   i) What did you feel about the mobile van activity?
   ii) What all happened during the mobile van activity?
   iii) Is there anything new that you learnt or understood after attending the mobile van activity?
   iv) Has the mobile van activity affected you in any way? (Probe- in what way? Has it led to any more changes in you? Have you taken more actions after attending the mobile van? Explore this in detail).

Q2B. If the Change Maker has attended any other WE CAN programme (apart from Mobile van), ask:
   i) When did this activity take place?
   ii) What did you feel about this activity?
   iii) What all happened during this activity?
   iv) Is there anything new that you learnt or understood after attending this activity?
v) Has this activity affected you in any way? (Probe- in what way? Has it led to any more changes in you? Have you taken more actions after participating in this activity? Explore this in detail).

Q2C. If the Change Maker has received the newsletter ask:
   i) What did you think about the newsletter?
   ii) Is there anything new that you learnt or understood about the issue of violence against women from the newsletter?
   iii) Has the newsletter affected you in any way? (Probe- in what way? Has it led to any more changes in you? Have you taken any more actions after reading the newsletter? Explore this in detail).

Q2D. What is the CM gaining or getting out of making all these changes and taking these actions?
   Probe: what are the benefits of being a Change Maker? What is the value added?

Q2E. If you were to look back to when you first became a Change Maker, when you were a new Change Maker and now, when you are an old Change Maker, after all this time, what do you feel about yourself? Let the CM talk and then probe, is there a difference? What kind of difference?

Q3. Check with the Change Maker if, apart from WE CAN, she/he is part of any other group/intervention (such as a savings group/adult education group/youth club)?

Q4. How long has he/she been a part of such a group?

Q5. Was he/she part of this group from before or after he/she became a Change Maker?

Q6. If the Change maker says he/she is also part of a mahila mandal/women’s savings group/ other women’s group, check:
   a) Whether issues of violence against women are discussed in these groups
   b) If yes, what exactly is discussed and how is this different from WE CAN?
   c) What is the difference they see between their role as Change Makers and their role as members of the other intervention group they are part of?

   Probe question- Why couldn’t the respondent have taken actions on VAW or made these changes without becoming a Change Maker?; in what way has being part of the other group helped the Change Maker to discharge his/her role? Is there anything else you want to share about your experiences of addressing VAW? Thank the Change Maker and if needed take a short break after this and then resume the social mapping exercise.

**Step 1:** The interviewer and note taker should take a chart paper and sit down comfortably with the Change Maker. Then he/she says, “You have shared about your experiences after becoming a Change Maker and about various people and groups in your environment. I have a few more questions related to these changes. Let us start with your family, for example. Let’s say this shape I am making here (interviewer draws a blob as shown below) stands for your family. According to you, who all among your family members have changed as a result of what you have done on the issue of VAW or as a result of the changes in you?” As the Change Make talks about each member, keep adding smaller blobs for each of them and name them (mother with name, father with name etc.). The second person who is with you should start writing down changes among the family members in Form I, in great detail. Ensure that you probe changes within the family in great depth and ask for specific examples, stories and instances to explain whatever change is reported by the Change Maker. This is very important. The interviewer should write this down but in brief (maybe a phrase or
line) in a box next to the corresponding blob. Once the changes have been captured, ask the Change Maker, “what do you think is causing this change? This is how the blob of the family should look when it is complete.

“You have shared about the change each of the members in your family has gone through, very well. Are there things you are doing now as a family that you were not doing earlier? Any practices? Any actions?” This should be noted down in detail in the appropriate section in Form I by the note taker.

Step II: The interviewer says, “Till now, we have talked about your family as a group. Are there any other groups in your surroundings, such as your extended family or neighbourhood, that you feel are also changing in the same way?”

Make a second blob for the system mentioned by the Change Maker. Explore in depth about changes within this group/system in detail, just as you did for the family. A very important question to probe here is “What is causing this second group to change?” If the Change Maker shares that this second system has changed because of the changes in the family in some way, ask why does she/he think her/his family has anything to do with this change?” Also ask the Change Maker now whether the reverse has also happened, that is his/her family has also been impacted by this second group in any way. If the Change maker says yes, probe in what way has her/his family been impacted by the change in this second system. Arrows to show the direction of change (could be one way or two way). In this way keep exploring all the various groups around the Change Maker that might have changed in some way due to interactions with the Change Maker or others, on the issue of violence against women or WE CAN. In probing the change within each group it is very important to constantly ask the Change maker two questions:

1. “What is causing this group to change?”

2. “In your view, is the change in this group affecting other groups in any way?” In this way, all the groups around the Change Maker should be explored and at the end of this part of the discussion, the chart could look something like this:

Diagram 1
(However, to make the diagram less cluttered and easy to read, when you are finalising the workshop transcripts, it might be better to make two separate diagrams— one for the various systems and actors in it; and a second one only to explain the impact of one system on another).

Ensure you explore whether there are any overlaps between any of the circles. You could, for example, ask, “Are your friends part of any of these circles apart from their own circle?” Note this in the blob adjacent to the circle, as shown above in circle on neighbours.

Step III: Once this exercise has been completed, thank the Change Maker. Then tell her/him, “The information you have just provided is very useful. Just as we have spoken to you about the changes you have gone through, we also want to talk to some of the people mentioned by you in our discussions right now. Do you think you could provide me with names of such people we could speak to?” This should be noted in the form attached.

Annex- 1.4

SESSION III: QUESTIONS ON CHANGE MAKER’S ATTITUDE TO VAW

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<td>Name of recorder:</td>
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<td>Date of interview:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

I have with me a few questions on the issue of VAW and would like you to respond openly to them. There is no right or wrong answer. This is to understand what you think and feel about VAW. Please do share what you think. Whatever you share with me will remain confidential. This means that your interview responses will be shared only within the research team and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13.</th>
<th>According to you what kind of behaviours can be termed as violence against woman? (Note down all the behaviours he/she mentions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Some people believe that VAW is a serious problem. What is your opinion? (probe Q- Why do you think so?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>How will you define a violence free family?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Can you give an example of a violence free family around you? Why do think that there is no violence in that family?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>I have with me a set of statements about families which are violence free. I would like you to indicate yes if you think this applies to a violence free family and no if you think it does not apply to a violence free family. There is no right or wrong answer. (Please read out each statement one by one and record the response before moving to the next. Do not explain or probe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Yes...1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171 Husband and wife take all major decisions together</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172 All the children are sent to school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173 Boys and girls get the same kind of food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174 Wife cannot go out of the community/village without asking her husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175 Husband abuses his wife occasionally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176 Wife is denied money as husband gets her everything.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177 Daughter is married off before the age of 18 yrs if the family finds a good match</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178 All family members can express their opinion freely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179 Mother in law abuses the daughter in law if she does not cook properly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. According to you what should a woman do when she is facing violence in the family? (note down what the respondent states)

19. I am going to read out a situation to you and would then like to discuss a few questions related to this situation. There is no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to share your views. Your brother works in the city and stays there with his wife. He and his wife come home to see your parents once a month. The last time he was here, his wife refused to go back with him. She has shared with her parents that whenever she asks for money your brother hits her and abuses her. Your mother has also come to know of this. Her parents and your mother feel your brother is under a lot of stress and have advised his wife not to ask for any money. They have convinced her to go back with him. After a couple of days you have got a call from your brother’s neighbour that his wife has a fractured hand because of a fight between the couple and they need the help of your family.

191 Who do you think is responsible for this situation? Probe why the respondent thinks so?

192 What do you think your family could have done to solve the problem?

193 What do you think your brother could have done to solve the problem?

20 I have with me here a few statements relating to men and women. I would like you to indicate your opinion about each of them by stating whether you agree or disagree with each one. In case you don’t have an opinion about the statement, you can say so. There is no right or wrong answer. Please feel free to express your opinion. (Interviewer to remember that once the respondent has said agree or disagree, please check whether the person agrees strongly or somewhat. Similarly, if the respondent says disagree, please check whether he/she disagrees strongly or somewhat. Then place a tick mark against the appropriate box. Strongly agree-1, Somewhat agree-2, No opinion-3, Some what disagree-4, Strongly disagree-5. Be sure to ask why the respondent holds this opinion)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>Why do you think so?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>201 An occasional slap by the husband does not amount to domestic violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>202 Denying money to your wife is a form of domestic violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>203 A man is never justified in hitting his wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>204 Women should tolerate domestic violence as it is their responsibility to keep the family together</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>205 Women should not talk about their experiences of domestic violence with anyone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206 Violence in any form is unacceptable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>207 It is the responsibility of the community to support the women who face violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>208 Husband can demand sex from wife whenever he wants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209 Men deserve more rights than women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210 Sharing housework does not suit men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Given below are some situations. Please indicate what you think you will do if you are faced with these situations.

221 You come to know that the woman in your neighbourhood whom you do not know very well is facing domestic violence. What will you do? (wait for the respondent to finish answering this question, then ask) Why will you do this?

222 Your uncle has returned home drunk and is abusing his wife. What will you do? (wait for the respondent to finish answering this question, then ask) Why will you do this?

22 Some people believe that violence against women is a community level problem. What is your opinion?

Interviewing teams comments/observations:
Annex 1.5

Schedule no.

ASSESSMENT OF WECAN PHASE II (INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT SYSTEMS IN THE CHANGE MAKER’S CIRCLE OF INFLUENCE)

To be filled in by the interviewer before and after the interview
Name of the respondent:
Name of the Change maker:
Respondent’s relationship with Change maker:
Name of the village:
Name of the district:
Name of the block/tehsil/VDC/union/division:
Complete address of the respondent:
Name of the investigator:
Name of recorder:
Date of interview:
Status of interview: Completed.............. Incomplete...................
Number of visits required to complete the interview..............................

Introduction:
Hello/Namaste/Assalam-u-alaikum/Aiyobuwan/Vanakkam/appropriate greeting.
My name is ______________________ and this is my colleague_________________. We have got your name from______________ (put the name of Change maker) who is your family member/friend/relative/neighbor. We are trying to talk with people with whom _______________ (name of Change maker) has talked and discussed the issue of violence against women.

As_____________ has mentioned your name we would like to talk with you to know more about what you think about this issue and about your experiences in addressing VAW. We would like to ask you questions related to how you became involved with this issue and your experiences. All that you share with us will help us understand what people feel/ think about this issue.

You can refuse to answer any question that you don’t want and also stop the interview any time if you don’t wish to talk. This entire discussion will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will be shared only within the research team and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent.

Can we start the interview? (If the respondent agrees for the interview please inform him/her that it will take approximately an hour and then proceed).

BEFORE STARTING THE INTERVIEW PLEASE ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS TO ENSURE THAT THE PERSON HAS HEARD ABOUT THE ISSUE/CHANGE MAKER/CAMPAIGN. HE/SHE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO REMEMBER THE CAMPAIGN BUT CAN RECALL THE DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTICULAR CHANGE MAKER WHO HAS MENTIONED HIS/HER NAME
1. What is your full name?

2. Have you ever heard about the issue of violence against women?
   Yes .......................... 1 (go to Q.4)
   No .............................. 2 (go to Q.3)

3. Can you recollect _______________(put the name of the Change maker) discussing and talking about the issue of VAW/discrimination of girl child or showing you any material on this issue, at any time?
   Yes I can remember......1 (start the interview, go to Q.8)
   No I can’t remember anything....2 (thank the respondent and terminate the interview)

4. From where did you get this information? (can be multiple response)
   Television.................1
   Radio.......................2
   Newspaper...............3
   Change maker.........4 (go to Q.8)
   Event in the community.....5
   From Neighbour/community member.................................6
   From a relative..............7
   From a friend...............8
   Other(specify).........9

5. Apart from these sources did anyone else talk to you about the issue of violence against women?
   Yes.......................1
   No.........................2 (go to Q.7)

6. Who talked to you about it?
   Panchayat member/local elder/ local councilor/Mohalla committee member/Gram sevak...........1
   Anganwari Worker/ health worker/LHW/LHV........2
   Change maker.........3 (go to Q.8)
   NGO worker.............4
   Friend/neighbor/relative.......5
   Others (specify)........6

7. Can you recollect _______________(put the name of the Change maker) discussing and talking about the issue of violence against women/discrimination of girl child or showing you any material on this issue, at any time?
   Yes I can remember......1 (start the interview, go to Q.8)
   No I can’t remember anything....2 (thank the respondent and terminate the interview)

---

**SECTION 1: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS**

Thank you for your cooperation so far. I have a few questions on your family and educational background. Can we proceed?

8. What is your age? (in completed years)

9. Sex
   - Female..............1
   - Male...............2

10. What is your marital status?
    - Unmarried/never married_________1
    - Married_________2
    - Divorced/seperated_________3
    - Widow/widower_______4
    - Deserted__________5
    - Other(specify)___________6
11. What are your educational qualifications?

- Cannot read and write
- Can only sign
- Class I-V
- Class VI–IX
- Matriculation (class X)
- G.C.E O/L
- Intermediate (class XII)
- G.C.E A/L
- Graduate
- Post Graduates
- Others (please specify)

12. What is your occupation?

- Farming on own land
- Agricultural labour
- Non agricultural labour
- Government service
- Private service
- NGO sector
- Small business owner/Self employed
- Specify
- Student
- Lawyer
- Teacher
- Lady Health Worker LHW/LHV
- Housewife
- Home based worker
- Specify
- Other (specify)

13. I would like to know a little more about the other members of your family. Please ask about and note down all the details about the various members of his/her family (that is all those living in the same house as the respondent). Start with the eldest member of the family and go the youngest. If the age of the member is less than a year put “0” in the column of age. While noting down the name of the family members ask for girls/female members specifically.
| Relationship to respondent | Age (in completed yrs) | Sex | Female | 1 | Male | 2 | Marital status | Never married......1 | Married............2 | Separated/Divorced...3 | Widow/Widower........4 | Deserted............5 | Others(specify).......6 | Education Can’t read or write.....1 | Can sign only......2 | Class 1—4............3 | Class5—9............4 | Matriculation....5 | G.C.E/O/L...........6 | Intermediate.....7 | G.C.E A/L.........8 | Graduate...........9 | Post graduate...10 | Others (specify).....11 | Occupation | Farming on own land_______________1 | Agricultural labour_______2 | Non agricultural labour_____________3 | Government service __4 | Private service/_______5 | NGO sector___________6 | Small business owner/Self employed__7 | Student_____8 | Lawyer___9 | Teacher___10 Lady Health Worker LHW/UHV______11 | Housewife___12 | Home based worker____________13 | Other (specify)___14 |

### SECTION 2: RESPONDENT’S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT VAW AND WECAN

In the beginning of the interview you mentioned that ____________ (name of Change maker) spoke with you and discussed the issue of VAW. I have a few questions related to this which I would like to talk to you about.

14. Can you remember when ____________ (name of Change maker) first talked to you about this?

15. What did he/she tell you?

16. How much did you both talk or discuss this issue?

17. Did __________ (name of Change maker) use or show you any of these material related to VAW? (show prompt sheet 1 to respondent)

18. Can you please tell me which materials were shown to you? Please remember all the materials that were shown to you (Multi response is possible—please circle all the options that the respondent mentions—DO NOT READ OUT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Comic books.......1</th>
<th>Posters............2</th>
<th>Workbooks.......3</th>
<th>Wall pennant.......4</th>
<th>Newsletter............5</th>
<th>Flip chart/flash card........6</th>
<th>Calendars....................7</th>
<th>Greeting cards...............8</th>
<th>Others(specify)...............9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes.............1</td>
<td>No..................2 (got to Q.13)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>19.</strong></td>
<td>What did you find relevant in what [name of Change maker] told you about VAW?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **20.** | How do you think these discussions have impacted your sensitivity to the issue of VAW? Can you explain this with an example? | Yes……………………1  
No……………………2 (go to Q 23) |
| **21.** | Have you ever heard about the WECAN campaign? | Yes…………………1  
No……………………2 (go to Q 23) |
| **22.** | What do you think is the objective of the WECAN campaign? (multiple response – please do not read out- circle those mentioned by the respondent and then probe for anything else) | It is on ending domestic violence…..1  
It is about equal rights for women…2  
It is about unacceptability of VAW…3  
It is on discrimination of girls……4  
It is about personal change............5  
It is about a peaceful family life….6  
It is about different forms of VAW….7  
Other(specify)…………………………..8 |
| **23.** | Have you heard of the term Change maker? | Yes…………………1  
No……………………2 (go to Q 23) |
| **24.** | Who according to you is a Change maker? |   |
| **25.** | What according to you does a Change maker do? (Multiple responses are possible; Do not read out; circle all those applicable) | Talk to others about issues related to domestic violence………………1  
Help those who face domestic violence………………2  
Motivate people to send their daughters to school……………3  
Organize village meetings/events………4  
No Idea……………………………5  
Others(specify)…………………………..6 |
| **26.** | Do you consider yourself a Change maker? | Yes…………………1  
No……………………2 (go to Q 29 ) |
| **27.** | Why do you consider yourself a Change maker? (Multiple responses are allowed here. Let respondent speak and circle appropriate responses. Do not read out responses) | Because I have filled a CM form………1  
Because I am working to end VAW………2  
Because I am talking to others about VAW…3  
Because I have made personal changes in my life…………………4  
Because I am motivating others to change..5  
Because I have taken many actions to end VAW in my family……….6  
Because I have taken many actions to end VAW in my community………..7  
Others (specify)…………………………..8 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Choices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Since when have you been a Change Maker?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Why did you decide to become a Change maker? (Probe Q- ask respondent to explain reasons and ask for examples where appropriate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Since you heard about the issue of VAW, have you discussed it with others about the issue?</td>
<td>Yes..............1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No..............2 (go to Q 31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Can you please tell me who you talked to about these issues? (Multiple responses are allowed here. Let the respondent speak and circle appropriate responses. Do not read out responses)</td>
<td>Mother................1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father...............2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Own sister/sisters..............3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Own brother/brothers.........4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cousins male.......................5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cousins female...............6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other male relatives (specify) ...........................................7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other female relatives (specify) ...8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male friends.........................9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female friends...............10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male neighbours..................11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female neighbours...............12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others (specify).....................13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Apart from what__________ (name of Change Maker) discussed with you, have you participated in any other activities or discussions on this issue?</td>
<td>Yes (WECAN activity)........1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (non WECAN activity on VAW)........2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No..............3 (go to Q 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Can you share about this activity?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES
Table-1: Distribution of females and males among Change Makers and their COI
Table-2: Sources from where member in the COI reported learning about VAW issues
Table-3: COI responses on what they found most important in discussions with the Change Maker
Table-4: COIs who have heard of ‘We Can’ campaign
Table-5: Views of COI regarding the objectives of WE CAN campaign
Table-6: COIs who have heard the term ‘Change Makers’
Table-7: COIs views on the statement: “Who is a change Maker”
Table-8: Responses of member in COIs influenced on the issues discussed by the Change Maker
Table-9: showing people with whom the people in the COI have discussed the issue of VAW

FIGURES
Figure-1: Marital status of Change Makers and member of COI
Figure-2: Age of change makers and member of COI surveyed
Figure-3: Educational levels Change Makers and member of COI
Figure-4: Occupations of Change Makers and member of COI

Distribution of females and males among Change Makers and their COI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution by sex</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change makers</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Change maker’s Circle of Influence(COI)</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 1 : Distribution of females and males among Change Makers and their COI

Distribution of females and males among Change Makers and the sample from their Circle of Influence are almost the same (see table 6). 56.5% of all Change Makers and 56% of the COI respondents female; 43.5% of Change Makers and 44% of COI respondents male.
Marital status of Change makers and member of COI

Marital Status of Change maker
- Widow/widower, (3.5%)
- Married (55.7%)
- Never married, (40.8%)

Marital Status of member of COI
- Widow/widower 3%
- Married 62%
- Never married 35%

Figure - 1: Marital status of Change makers and member of COI

There are a higher proportion of unmarried respondents among Change Makers (40.8%) when compared to their COI (35%). However, the percent of widow/widower is almost same between CM (3.5%) and COI (3%). Among the COI respondent the rate of married person is high because they are older than the CM respondent is.

Age of Change makers and member of COI surveyed

Figure - 2: Age of Change makers and member of COI surveyed

The largest band of Change Maker falls within the 16-24 age groups (43.5%), which reflect that the majority of them are young. In comparison, only 23.4% Change Makers are above 40 years of age. On other hand, 36.4% COI are aged between 16-24 years, which reflects that they are young. About 25.7% COI are above 40 years in age. The age group of young in both CM and COI is higher than any other age group. The age group above 60 among CM (2.6%) is higher than the COI (0.3%) only. However, the age group 40-44 is almost same in CM (7.8%) and COI (8.1%).

Educational levels Change makers and member of COI

Figure - 3: Educational levels Change makers and member of COI
In our sample, no Change Maker was found to be illiterate, though 13% can only write their names. In terms of educational levels, the maximum number has completed Class 12 (20%), followed by graduates (18.3%) and those who are in Class VI-IX (18.3%). This relatively educated sample could be due to the fact that student Change Makers are high in the ‘new’ sites. This is borne out by the occupation of respondents—as many as 30.4% are students. There are 21.7% homemakers as well, followed by 12.2% who are self-employed.

Educationally, the maximum numbers of COI fall in the Class VI-IX band (25.7%). There are 4.6% illiterate COI in the sample population and 17.3% can only write their names. However, the 30.4% Change Makers are student so literacy rate among Change Maker is high.

### Occupations of Change makers and member of COI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of Change maker</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own cultivation</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labour</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non agricultural labour</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private employee</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home based work</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of member of COI</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own cultivation</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture lab</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non agriculture lab</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt employee</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private employee</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home based work</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4: Occupations of Change makers and member of COI*

In terms of occupation, the majority respondent of COI is homemakers (32.2%), followed by students (24.8%). We have seen that most changes start from within the home, hence, the number of homemakers is the highest. The majority of the respondent of CM (30.4%) is student where the rate is 24.8% in COI. However, the non-agricultural professional group is almost same in CM (2.6%) and COI (2.9%).
### Sources from where member in the COI reported learning about VAW issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources of Information</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Maker</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>94.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event in the community</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour/community member</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>396</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>153.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Sources from where member in the COI reported learning about VAW issues*

### COI views on what they found most important in discussions with the CM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues found most relevant by COI</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I found everything relevant/ I liked everything the Change makers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not find anything useful.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should stop VAW for social development</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should commit for no violence against women in any form</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should not torture daughter-in-laws/ remember that a daughter-in-law is the daughter of someone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children should not be deprived of education</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should not quarrel in the family with women</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women facing violence in various forms</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understand how we can stop VAW</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story shown in the booklet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should not tease girls</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learnt lot of good things</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should move forward in life</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men and women have equal rights</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is sad that women face VAW</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls should not be married in young age</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men should be well behaved with women</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should not be tortured for dowry</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual violence/harassment should not be done</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are tortured for baby boy(son)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy should not happen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>289</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>111.6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3: COI views on what they found most important in discussions with the CM*
### COIs who have heard of ‘We Can’ campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>259</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 4: COIs who have heard of ‘We Can’ campaign

### Table - 5: Views of COI regarding the objectives of WE CAN campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives of the campaign</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To stop VAW</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>76.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal right</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence never acceptable</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End discrimination against women</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Change</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaceful family life</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understand the forms of violence</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>639</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>276.6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 5: Views of COI regarding the objectives of WE CAN campaign

### COIs who have heard the term ‘Change makers’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>259</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 6: COIs who have heard the term ‘Change makers’

### COIs views on the statement: “Who is a change maker”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of a change maker</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Someone who motivates you to stop VAW</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One who changes himself/herself and changes others</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who works on VAW</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who tells to others not to commit VAW</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who changes society</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who is thoughtful &amp; intelligence</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone who raises their voice against domestic violence</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>242</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>111.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 7: COIs views on the statement: “Who is a change maker”
### Responses of member in COIs influenced on the issues discussed by the Change maker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influenced issues</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I felt motivated to work on VAW</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have become less superstitious</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not tolerate any Violence Against Women</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should not marry girls in early age</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls should be educated</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter-in-laws should be treated well</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We should treat sons and daughter as equals/ boys are girls have equal rights</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We should not engage in any form of DV</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should aware of their rights</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should not harassed sexually/teased/seen as sex objects</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women have the contribution for the success of men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing of household work</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live with harmony /should not give divorced</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We should not scold/abuse women</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating/hitting women is wrong</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should stop taking dowry</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should not torture mentally</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy should not happen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>291</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>112.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 8: Responses of member in COIs influenced on the issues discussed by the Change maker

### Showing people with whom the people in the COI have discussed the issue of VAW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member in the COI discussed with</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own sister</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own brother</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousin sister</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousin brother</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other male relative</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other female relatives</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy friend</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl friend</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male neighbour</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female neighbour</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1269</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>593.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 9: Showing people with whom the people in the COI have discussed the issue of VAW